The Forum

FEBRUARY, 1900.

THE RELATION OF ENGLAND TO THE TRANSVAAL.

It was with very great interest that I read in The Forum for October, 1899, the important article by Mr. James Gustavus Whiteley on "The Relation of England to the Transvaal." His premise is quite right: the international relations of Great Britain and the Transvaal are determined principally, and, I may add, as far as treaties are concerned, entirely, by the Convention of London of 1884. He is equally right when he says that it can be by no means admitted that Great Britain possesses the general right of a protector to intervene in the internal affairs of the Transvaal.

In the first place, Great Britain is not a protector of the Transvaal. Such a great privilege or power, which includes many rights and duties, cannot be exercised by any state, unless it be distinctly and formally pronounced and admitted by treaty. That word, that idea, that principle, is not to be found in any treaty between Great Britain and the Transvaal. In the relations between states it is happily not customary that things which have a great influence on the future of nations should be introduced by surprise or deduced by a subtle train of reasoning. Mr. Chamberlain himself defined the Transvaal in his despatch of December 31, 1895, as "a foreign state which is in friendly treaty relations with Great Britain." A foreign state cannot be a protected state.

Secondly, it is going too far to say, as Prof. Westlake does, according to Mr. Whiteley, that by Article 4 of the London Convention England has received the *ultimate control* of the foreign

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relations of the Transvaal. By that article the South African Republic only consented not to conclude any treaty or engagement with any state or nation—other than the Orange Free State—until the same had been approved by Her Majesty, the Queen. That control is not an universal, a perfect, control; it is but a partial control. It cannot be applied to the past, but only to the future. The treaties which the Transvaal had concluded before the Convention were not submitted for approval; and over the many relations such as every state has with other states, and about which it is not necessary to conclude a treaty, Great Britain has no control at all. By the Convention of 1884, as Lord Derby, who negotiated that Convention, expressly stated, "The conduct and control of foreign diplomatic intercourse was conceded" to the South African Republic.

This imperfect right of control over the relations of the Transvaal with foreign states, a mere right of veto, can never be extended in such a way that by reasoning one comes from that imperfect control to an ultimate control; from this to the right of protector; thence to the claim of the privileges indispensable to fulfil the duties of a protector; and from that claim to the absurd pretension that Great Britain possesses the general right of a protector to intervene in the internal affairs of the Transvaal. The absurdity of such a contention is evident from the fact that Lord Derby assured the Boers, when he signed the Convention of London (1884), "Your Government will be left free to govern the country without interference."

It is known that Great Britain has not kept that promise. Since 1897 Mr. Chamberlain has incessantly intervened in the internal affairs of the Transvaal, notwithstanding that, on May 8, 1896, he said, in the House of Commons: "To go to war with President Krüger in order to force upon him reforms in the internal affairs of his state, in which Secretaries of State, standing in this place, have repudiated all right of interference—that would be a course of action as immoral as it would be unwise." And yet he has gone to war. Mr. Chamberlain pronounced in that memorable session of Parliament the sentence which posterity will pass upon him. He has pronounced his own condemnation.

It is to be remembered that he has premeditatedly wounded the citizens of the South African Republic in what he knows to be their most delicate point. They had done all they could for years and years that Great Britain should no longer claim suzerainty. At last

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they succeeded in their negotiations. As Mr. Whiteley observes very justly, the word suzerainty, which was used in the preamble of the treaty of 1881, was dropped, in the treaty of London (1884), for the purpose of avoiding any misunderstanding. Mr. Buxton, representing the Colonial Office in the House of Commons in 1895, said, that the Convention of 1884 "contains no express reservation of the Queen's right of suzerainty." How great must have been the emotion in the Transvaal when Mr. Chamberlain, in October, 1897, refused President Krüger's request[1] for arbitration—refused it *because Britain was suzerain!*

Here we see Mr. Chamberlain going to war for the sake of this delicate point. The Boers—whose history for the last twenty years, while attempting to obtain liberty and independence, has been one long tragedy—understood that the attempt of Dr. Jameson, in connection with Mr. Cecil Rhodes, was but a prelude to a gradual, but sure, attack on their independence. That this has been the aim of all the machinations of Messrs. Rhodes, Milner, and Chamberlain might be deduced from a recent article in the "Daily Chronicle," where we read that Sir A. Milner, in a conversation with Mr. Molteno, Member of the Cape Parliament, said to him: "No, Molteno, I have made up my mind to subdue the Afrikanders." The "Daily Chronicle" added that this characterized his tendencies. Surely the great American nation will not condemn the burghers of the South African Republic for preparing, at last, to take up arms rather than lose their independence.

What is the origin of this sorrowful war? To answer this question it will be necessary to recall the fact that the first founders of the Cape Colony, under van Riebeck, in 1652, were Dutch. For more than a century and a half the Dutch were the only possessors of that country. A great many of the inhabitants were agriculturists, who lived far away from the towns. In September, 1795, during the French occupation of the Netherlands, Great Britain made herself master of the Cape. At the Peace of Amiens (1802) the colony was given back to the Dutch; but in 1806 the English took possession of it again. Although the latter step was taken in the name of the Prince of Orange, and, therefore, presumably for his benefit, England kept the Cape when the House of Orange was reëstablished in the Netherlands (1814). When the Dutch ambassador, Fagel, opposed this, Lord Castlereagh replied: "C'est a nous de

[1] Request made in May, 1897.

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juger ce qu'il nous convient de rendre ou de garder." The so-called indemnity in money was, according to the treaty, to be spent almost wholly on payments to German princes for lands ceded to others, and on the building of a great many fortresses on the frontier between Belgium and France.

The Dutch at the Cape were not at all pleased with the new settlement of 1814 nor with the forced change of nationality. They were hurt because their assent had not been required, had not even been asked for—because like cattle they had been transferred from one hand to the other. They had been the pioneers of civilization in regions populated by savage tribes. They had made the country such as it was, and now they were treated with great harshness. For the least opposition they were shot or hanged like rebels. It is worth while to note that the English, who are now angered because no foreign language is taught to the Outlanders in the Transvaal schools, and because the official papers are published in the native tongue, ordered in those days that instruction should be given in English, which was not the native tongue; that all official papers, beginning January 1, 1825, should be published in English; that all law-suits, beginning January 1, 1828, should be held in that language; and that almost every functionary and magistrate should be English.

Many of the Boers left the country in 1835, under Triechard and van Rensburg, and moved into the wilderness. Most of these were killed by the savages. After this the slave emancipation became the topic of the day in England. The English, as well as the Dutch, at the Cape were slave owners. But in England people became quite fanatical upon this subject; and at meetings of missionary societies they began to rage furiously against the Dutch farmers—a slow and prudent race, not easily aroused by a new idea, but rather attached to old customs, who indeed kept slaves, but treated them very humanely as farmer servants. However, after the emancipation of the slaves the Boers received so little compensation that they often refused to accept it; preferring to free their slaves for nothing.

The English suddenly felt for the "black race" an almost exaggerated love, which Dickens so wittily ridiculed in the character of Mrs. Jellaby, who, being so busy looking after the black Borrioboola-Ghas in Africa, neglected her husband and children shamefully. The English considered themselves the protectors and guardians of the natives. At the same time they abolished a long-existing law against

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the Hottentots, by which these were forbidden to leave their localities and their work to wander about the country. Now they were allowed to go wherever they liked, and to live in idleness. The natives, Hottentots and Kaffirs, like most savages, are lazy, deceitful, rapacious, and cruel. So they wandered into the forests and took to drink; finding their food by robbery, and doing much harm to the Dutch farmers. The English, however, were not troubled by them, as only a very few of the English lived outside the towns.

It was thus, by the injudicious measures of the English, that the Hottentots were brought to a miserable end. But, as the Dutch farmers defended themselves against these wandering, black robbers, who continually threatened their possessions and their lives, they were cried down as slave-keepers, barbarians, and tyrants—as the source of everything wrong. This became a tradition in the English press, and sustained the hatred and contempt for everything Dutch at the Cape. Froude says: "We have treated them unreasonably, and we never forgive those whom we have insulted." The English always chose the side of the blacks, and behaved very cruelly toward the Boers. Two leaders of the race, the brothers Bezuidenhout, were shot by a troop of Hottentots, which was commanded by Englishmen.

The lot of the Boers under English tyranny became unbearable. They finally decided to leave their country, where they could find no rest and no peace, and, with all their possessions, to make the great exodus—the "Great Trek"—to the north, in order to free themselves from Great Britain's yoke. In 1836 they went into the wilderness, under Pieter Retief, Gerrit Maritz, and Pretorius. As the Israelites on their way to Canaan, under Joshua, had continually to fight against the Philistines, so the Boers were forced to fight against the savage tribes, which came to attack them from the north. Yet, after a violent struggle, and after a great deal of suffering, especially at the hands of the cruel Zulu-Kaffirs, under Dingaan, they succeeded in settling in their new country, Natal.

But even here the English did not leave them alone. In 1840 they forbade them the right to form an independent state, and attacked them. Finally, they were obliged to leave Natal to Great Britain, which annexed it in 1843. And the Boers determined to abandon all their possessions in preference to losing their independence and their liberty. They therefore concluded to look once more for a new country of their own, and began their second great exodus.

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They chose a land separated from their persecutors by a natural boundary, a great river. This river was the Vaal, and so they called their new home "Transvaal," which, like the Orange Free State Republic, formed by another trek, was recognized by England by the Sand River Convention in 1852.

For twenty-five years they were obliged to fight against ferocious animals—lions, tigers, and hyenas—and an even more ferocious population. During all this time England left the Boers alone. When, at last, the Boers believed themselves to be at an end of their disasters, England took advantage of their exhausted condition and temporary quarrels, and, in 1877, declared the annexation of the Transvaal. The British, who, at the time, were obliged to fight against the Zulus, were, in January, 1879, defeated near Isandula. In December of the same year the Boers repudiated English rule, and a year later they proclaimed the South African Republic. A violent struggle took place between them and the English, wherein the latter were repeatedly defeated: first, at Bronkhorst Spruit, December 20, 1880; then, near Laing's Nek, January 28, 1881, under Gen. Colley; next at Ingogo February 8, under Gen. Colley; and, finally, at Majuba Hill, February 27, where Gen. Colley was killed.

At this time the great and religious statesman, Gladstone, was Prime Minister of England. He saw that the Boers were in the right, and discontinued the war; concluding the peace which was ratified, on August 8, 1881, by the Convention of Pretoria. The majority of the Boers were dissatisfied with the nature of this convention, which gave to England suzerainty and control over the internal affairs of the Transvaal. Was it for this that they had won so many victories over the English? In order to obtain a modification of the Convention, especially to have the suzerainty and control over internal affairs removed, a Commission was sent to England. After a long deliberation the Boers finally succeeded in obtaining the treaty of London (1884), in which both the suzerainty and the control were abolished. Then the Transvaal was only a poor country; gold had not yet been found there.

Now there is war once more. And yet the Boers love rest and peace. "They were," as William T. Stead tells us in his remarkable pamphlet, published some weeks ago, entitled, "Shall I Slay My Brother Boer?" "a rude, sturdy race, somewhat resembling the Scotch Covenanters in their religious ideas, trained in the Old Testament, and familiarized from childhood with the use of weapons." An

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unlooked-for witness, Mr. Chamberlain, when member of the Government in Gladstone's Cabinet, declared: "The Boers are not naturally a warlike race; they are a homely, industrious, but somewhat rude and uncivilized nation of farmers, living on the produce of the soil; they are animated by a deep and even stern religious sentiment, and they inherit from their ancestors, the men who won the independence of Holland from the oppressive rule of Philip II of Spain, their unconquerable love of freedom and liberty. Are not these qualities which commend themselves to men of the English race? Are they not virtues which we are proud to believe form the best characteristics of the English people?" Then Mr. Chamberlain spoke the truth. But gold had not yet been found in the Transvaal.

The Boers have remained the same, but Mr. Chamberlain has changed. Indeed, he has so often changed his attitude, especially during the recent negotiations with the Boers, that Mr. Stead, in his interesting pamphlet, "Are We in the Right?" declares: "His right name is Chameleon, not Chamberlain."

The Boers have no gold yet; they do not look for it; all they want is rest and peace. They are shepherds and farmers; their lives are occupied chiefly in agriculture and in stock-raising; and they are as simple in their daily life as Mr. Chamberlain depicted them in 1884—beautiful in their childlike faith and their firm confidence. Did they not again show this recently when danger was approaching? And do they not show it now, when danger is at hand? Do they not remind us of the old Waldenses, the Huguenots (from the Cevennes), or of the heroes who defended Leyden and Haarlem against the Spaniards?

A young Freestater thus wrote to his mother in Cape Colony:

"*My Dear Mother:* We are all of us armed and ready to fight for our beloved country. We know our cause is fair and just. No doubt, our enemy is mighty, but not almighty. God only is almighty, and He will show that power is not justice. We give our cause into His hands. We take our rifles and go to the frontiers, and we shall pray God to be our General, to help us, and to keep us from doing what might be against His Will. The Lord has not altered; He is the same God who gave the victory to Gideon and his 300 men. He is a merciful God, and He will pardon our sins and come to our aid. He will never allow a mighty nation to annihilate a weak one like our own. Oh mother, not a house here where there is no weeping. It is worst of all at the station, where men take leave of their parents, brothers, and sisters. It is touching to see. Yesterday, when the train left with 300 men, the people sang: 'Let God arise and let His enemies be scattered.'"

The English may call the Boers uncivilized; but they cannot

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deny that their imprisoned and wounded countrymen are treated with the greatest care and consideration. It is untrue that the English troops—as Sir Wilfred Laurier said upon the departure of the Canadian auxiliaries—"go to war for the sake of justice and humanity, for the sake of civil rights and religious liberty." Even a great many Englishmen—among whom may be mentioned Sir E. Clarke, Mr. Morley, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, Sir W. Harcourt, Sir R. Reid, Mr. Bryce, and Mr. Stead—readily acknowledge the right of the Boers. "For the war with which we are threatened," wrote the latter, "has no justification in the laws of God or man—a war impolitic, unnecessary, and unjust."

Mr. Whiteley says: "The English see a number of their fellow countrymen in a strange land compelled to submit to the rule of a comparatively small number of Boers, whose ideas of government are considered somewhat primitive."

The South African Republic has about 1,000,000 inhabitants, of whom 630,000 are blacks. The Boers can provide for 45,000 rifles, while the total number of English Outlanders is put down at 21,690, of whom 15,000 are men above the age of sixteen.[1]

Is it so unjust that these strangers, most of whom have come for the gold of the rich mines, and only a very few of whom intend to remain in Africa, should be required to accommodate themselves to the laws and customs of the country—a country which was prepared and made habitable by the Boers at the expense of their own blood, a country to which nobody had called the Outlanders, and to which they had come unsolicited? The English found everything ready there. They enjoyed liberty, safety, and high wages; but they had no right to change the laws there to accord with their own wishes. In fact, they were quite happy; but the Outlander Committee—foreign capitalists, bankers, and speculators in gold shares—stirred them up. Their complaints were used only to give an appearance of right to England's intervention in the internal affairs of the Republic, and to prepare the way for the attack. These complaints were greedily received by Mr. Chamberlain, and they were taken up officially in his telegram of May 10, 1899—as if concessions which seemed fit to be turned into monopolies "must increase the already excessive cost of living in the Transvaal."[2]

"These Outlanders," continues Mr. Whiteley, "can obtain full

[1] W. T. Stead: "Are We in the Right?" page 20.
[2] Green Book, No. 11, 1899, page 3.

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citizenship in the Transvaal only after fourteen or fifteen years' residence, and after having complied with a number of requirements which render the full franchise almost inaccessible."

It is true that a fourteen years' residence in the country was necessary to obtain the franchise. It is also perfectly true, as Mr. Whiteley says, that "the Boers can no longer trek into the interior. They stand at bay. If they wish to preserve their institutions they must take precautions to preserve the franchise from the grasp of foreign and transient 'diggers,' whose principal stake in the country is the gold they can get out of it." At the conference of Bloemfontein, which was held from May 31 until June 5, 1899, between Sir A. Milner and President Krüger, the latter proposed to reduce by half the time of residence necessary for the franchise; thus reducing it to seven years. Milner wanted it reduced to five years, and also demanded seven seats in the Volksraad—that is, one-fifth of the total number, for the Outlanders. He also demanded home-rule for Johannesburg. Krüger had no authority from the Volksraad to go as far as that. On June 9 he proposed arbitration. To allow home-rule for Johannesburg and the Goldfields, in accordance with Mr. Chamberlain's wishes, was impossible, as there was no reason why the Boers should grant this great privilege, and because it is dangerous to create an *imperium in imperio*.

On July 19 the South African Republic granted a new concession; the Volksraad having agreed to a measure intended to give franchise immediately to those who had been resident in the country for seven years, and for the future to reduce to that period the term of residence necessary for obtaining the franchise.[1] To maintain peace the Transvaal Government went still further in its concessions; and on August 19 the State Secretary, Mr. Reitz, wrote to Mr. Conyngham Green, the British Agent, as follows:

(1) The Government are willing to recommend to the Volksraad and to the People a five years' retrospective franchise as proposed by His Excellency, the High Commissioner, at Bloemfontein on June 1, 1899.

(2) The Government are further willing to recommend to the Volksraad that eight new seats in the First Volksraad, and, if necessary, also in the Second Volksraad, be given to the population of the Witwaters Rand, thus, with the two sitting members for the Goldfields, giving to the population thereof ten representatives in a raad of

[1] Green Book, No. 9, 1899, page 13.

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thirty-six; and in future the representation of the Goldfields in this Republic shall not fall below the proportion of one-quarter of the total.

(3) The new burghers shall, equally with the old burghers, be entitled to vote at the election for State President and Commandant-General.

Besides all this arbitration was proposed.[1]

On August 23 the British Agent sent to the State Secretary a copy of a despatch from Mr. Chamberlain to Sir A. Milner, dated 27th July, in which the pretended grievances were stirred up again and amplified. The proposals of the Republic were rejected as insufficient; and it was declared that "in view of the relations established by the Conventions of Pretoria and London, Her Majesty's Government have felt themselves compelled to declare emphatically that under no circumstances whatever will they admit the intervention of any foreign Power in regard to interpretation of the conventions."[2]

More conclusive evidence is not possible. All the concessions granted by the South African Republic were of no avail whatever; arbitration was rejected in the most decided way. A new concession was no sooner granted than England began to claim more. Mr. Chamberlain even went so far as to require that the members of the Volksraad should not speak the native tongue, but a foreign language—as if this had ever been allowed anywhere. The Transvaal had merely to choose between yielding its rights as an independent state, and war, which was longed for by Chamberlain, Rhodes, Milner, and the capitalists of the Rand, and which became more and more threatening as fresh troops arrived from England.

Mr. Whiteley goes on: "There are many small annoyances in connection with the high tariff, the dynamite monopoly, and the language employed in the schools, the courts, and the legislature. All these things have been arranged by the Boers, and they do not suit the Outlanders."

Let us consider more closely these grievances, which have been greatly exaggerated by the Outlanders.

I. In the first place, the depressed state of the gold mines is attributed to the Government. Broadly speaking, one may say that the Outlander Committee has shown great skill in shifting the real causes of the less brilliant state of most of the gold mines from its own shoulders to those of the Transvaal Government. These causes are:

[1] Green Book, No. 9, 1899, page 5. [2] Ibid., page 15.

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(1) The original "watering" of the capital stock. The total capitalization of the mining companies in the Transvaal is simply enormous.

(2) The over-rating of the value of most of the mines. When the gold fever broke out in 1895 the accounts were exaggerated even beyond the optimistic reports of engineers. Ore which was estimated to produce a minimum of forty pennyweights gold never produced more than six pennyweights. There were reported to the Commission of Examination twenty-five gold mines which never contained any gold, except in the imagination of the "Gründers."[1] In 1897 there were seventy-nine mines that were producing gold. Of these twenty-three or twenty-five were paying dividends, while 106 mines produced no gold at all.[2]

(3) The reconstruction of companies—a trick of the financiers to change non-productive or bankrupt companies into new ones. As Barnato, one of the Rand kings, use to say, without shame: This is the surest way of making one's fortune at the Rand—at the expense of the shareholders, of course, who would be deceived in an honest (?) way.

(4) The bad management of the mines and the extraordinarily high salaries of the managers and functionaries. The chief engineer of the mines in the Transvaal has declared that one-third of the dynamite is wasted, at a cost of 7,000,000 francs yearly. In 1896 the Transvaal used 1,000 tons of dynamite more than France, Italy, and Spain together, and only 1,000 tons less than England and Germany together; while Germany has six times as many miners as the Transvaal. The coal and machinery are used with the same wastefulness. In 1896 these were imported to the extent of 55,500,000 francs. Some mine-managers receive 100,000 francs yearly, with free lodging and transportation, and some advising engineers receive 250,000 francs. Those who wish to get an idea of the way things are managed by the bankers and capitalists of Johannesburg—who all have their administrators and small business men, called their "stable"—would do well to read M. Edgar Roel's book, "Autour des mines d'or du Transvaal."[3] We are horrified by all this juggling with the values of mines, which have never paid dividends, but which are nevertheless marked up to 300 or 400 per cent. When we consider these matters we can understand

[1] Green Book, No. 9, 1899, page 32.

[2] "Opinion on the Report of the Industrial Commission," 1897, page 16.

[3] Paris, 1897.

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why some persons have been anxious to cover over their bad, and sometimes criminal, management, by transferring the Transvaal into English hands, even if war be required to do so. Alas! their plan has succeeded, but their gold is stained with blood.

II. Restrictions. Mr. Chamberlain, in his despatch of July, 1899, makes the charge that "all the restrictions as to franchise and individual liberty have been brought into existence subsequently to the Conventions of Pretoria and London." All complaints about lack of individual liberty have been proved to be groundless. As to the restrictions regarding the franchise, it is necessary to note that it is proper to deduce claims from the text of a treaty, and that it is not permissible to derive such claims (as Mr. Chamberlain would like to do) from preliminary discussions held several months before the treaty of 1881 was concluded. These discussions, moreover, were preliminary to the negotiations of the treaty of 1881—a treaty which was superseded by the treaty of 1884. It is remarkable that neither in the treaty of 1881 nor in that of 1884 was any stipulation made concerning the granting of burgher-rights. Besides, at these preliminary discussions, in May, 1881, Mr. Krüger promised only that "there should be equal protection for everybody;" and such protection there is. The Transvaal Government was perfectly justified in taking steps toward its own preservation, when a host of foreign fortune-hunters came suddenly rushing into its territory. The Boers were justified in not permitting themselves to be driven out by the Outlanders, among whom were many English who were unwilling to give up their English citizenship even upon receiving the new naturalization.

III. The high tariffs. The tariffs are not extraordinarily high. The Transvaal has a transit-duty of but 1½ per cent. The English colonies collect a duty of 5 per cent ad valorem on goods which pass through their territory to the Transvaal.[1]

IV. The dynamite monopoly. This has a very natural history. It was dangerous to leave the dynamite trade without control; for by limiting its production it becomes an excellent article for syndicate purposes. By establishing a factory in the Transvaal the state was able to prevent the excessive raising of prices by foreign syndicates. A gunpowder factory was combined with that for the manufacture of dynamite; the Transvaal having been thus made independent of foreign countries in times of complication. The dyna-

[1] "Autour des mines d'or du Transvaal," page 45.

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mite was sold at a moderate price. When we consider, for instance, that the gold mine "Robinson," which worked with a capital stock of 68,750,000 francs, in 1896, to break 177,500 tons of ore, and paid 8,250,000 francs in dividends, did not even spend 600,000 francs for explosives, then we see that a diminution of even 20 per cent in the price would have been hardly appreciable. It would have been less than the amount which, according to the report of the chief engineer, is annually wasted in dynamite.

V. The language in the schools. Is it not natural that instruction in schools supported by the Government should be held in the official language, and is it not the universal custom to do so? Moreover, the Transvaal has been liberal enough to give subsidies, at the expense of the state, to English schools in the Goldfields, where only English is taught. This shows that, in reality, the Transvaal does more for a foreign language in the schools of the Goldfields than any other country has done under similar circumstances. All complaints made by Mr. Chamberlain about the language in the schools are, therefore, unreasonable—the more so when we consider that England compelled its language to be used in the schools, in the courts of justice, and even in petitions, and that this language was forced not only upon Outlanders in South Africa, but upon the inhabitants born and bred in that country. Since when does the foreigner—who temporarily seeks an abode in a country to make his fortune, and who enjoys hospitality there—assume the right to put aside the language of the country, and to claim that instruction and justice should be administered in his own language?

Mr. Chamberlain has gone so far as to make other complaints to the Government of the South African Republic. It appears that these complaints are directed not so much against individual cases of hardship and injustice—which may occur in even the best governed states—as against the system under which the sufferers, as he calls them, are debarred from all voice in the legislation and all control of the administration.[1] He forgets, however, that from 1814 until 1872 Cape Colony, under English policy, was without representative government. He also presumes to criticise[2] the amount spent by the Republic for its secret service—an amount which he estimated at £191,855 for 1896. What would be said if some government should blame England for spending too much on some branches of her service—the army or navy, for instance? Moreover, the criticism was

[1] Green Book, No. 11, 1899, page 11.

[2] Ibid., page 5.

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not well founded. The Government of the South African Republic answered on September 26, 1899: "The secret service fund was not more than £33,500, and the false information to Her Majesty's Government was evidently taken from the estimate, in which one has to all appearance wilfully neglected to read the note at the bottom of page 44."[1]

Mr. Chamberlain also complains that under the Aliens Expulsion Law (No. 25 of 1896) an alien who is alleged to have incited to disobedience of the law, or to have acted otherwise in a manner dangerous to the public peace, may be arbitrarily expelled from the country by an order of the President. Burghers, who cannot be banished, may, under similar circumstances, have a special place of residence assigned to them. This law was enacted in 1896, not long after Dr. Jameson's Raid and the sedition of the Outlanders in Johannesburg. It would have been wiser in Mr. Chamberlain not to have touched upon that delicate point. The English made a very bad showing in those days; using the shabbiest expedients to attain their ends, and treacherously attempting in time of peace to overthrow the independence of the country. Was it not under these circumstances the duty of the Government to take the necessary steps to prevent similar attempts?

The law for the suppression of traitors was right and fair. The stranger who has abused hospitality ought to return to his own home; while it is right that the rebellious burgher should remain in his own country, but confined to a place where he can do no harm. The strangers may consider themselves lucky that "a special place of residence" was not assigned to them also, and that they were given liberty to go wherever they chose. That raid of Jameson's, that violent attempt to overthrow the Government of a friendly state for the benefit of England—an attempt instigated by Mr. Rhodes, Mr. Chamberlain's friend and Prime Minister of the Cape—was officially covered over by Mr. Chamberlain. He represented England as having been very generous indeed toward the Transvaal, which, he hoped, would feel grateful, saying: "Active agitation and passive acquiescence had alike proved ineffectual, and at the end of 1895 the inhabitants of Johannesburg took up arms. At the instance of the High Commissioner these arms were laid down again, and the Republic was spared the horrors of civil war."[2]

Mr. Fitzpatrick, Secretary of the Outlander Committee, complains

[1] Green Book, No. 11, 1899, page 16.

[2] Ibid., page 3.

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of this serious grievance; namely, that the Transvaal Government forbade the service of bar-maids in Johannesburg, for morality's sake. Not to be able to flirt with these bar-maids, while sipping their brandy and soda, seemed quite barbarous to the Johannesburg adventurers.

Great Britain, thou who rangest 300,000,000 of subjects under thy flag, thou who hast the greatest power in the world, who rulest the oceans with thy navy, thou, the Paramount Power, *par excellence*, hast thou not power enough?

Thou who art right to be proud of the great men whom thou hast produced, thou who canst count thinkers and poets like Milton and Shakespeare among thy sons, how must thy noble men feel themselves cast down since thy famous ethical philosopher Lecky felt obliged to write that the instigator of this fatal war, thy Cecil Rhodes, Chamberlain's friend, was directly interested in the "shabbiest incident" of this affair?

Great Britain, thou who hast existed so many centuries and who art so autocratic, oligarchical, and conservative that not a single inhabitant has a right to vote for a seat in the House of Lords, how canst thou declare that in the Transvaal—a newly organized country, newly opened to civilization—a five years' residence should be enough to give the right of voting for both Houses, even for the highest state officials, President and Commandant-General?

Great Britain, thou with a colony like British India, where, notwithstanding thy enlightened government, the pestilence reigns year after year, and where thousands perish by famine, how darest thou complain of the government in the Transvaal, and of the lot of the Outlanders, who have so little to complain of that 23,000 of them signed, *bona fide*, an address in which they declared themselves contented with the Government of the Republic? Even the "Times," the Jingo newspaper, *par excellence*, mentioning the arrival of the "Arundel Castle" in Plymouth, with 900 emigrants from the Transvaal—most of whom were Cornwall miners who had worked in the Rand—was obliged to acknowledge that these people declared that they had no reason for complaint, and that they were perfectly well satisfied with the high wages they had received.

Thou, who treatest British India in such a way, that, at a conference of Indians resident in the United Kingdom, convened by the London Indian Society, June 20, 1898, a resolution was passed, saying:

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"That the introduction of the gold standard will simply add more to the existing grievous burdens of the taxpayers; that the real cause of the terrible evils of poverty, famine, plague, false currency, etc., is what Lord Salisbury truly calls the 'bleeding' of India (for, as he says, 'India must be bled'), and the 'bleeding' is further increased by the fall in exchange or rise in gold; that until this most deplorable 'bleeding' of India is stopped, there is little chance, if any, of saving India and the British Empire from serious disasters or destruction; and lastly, that the constitution of the present Currency Committee is utterly unsatisfactory, as the suffering Indian taxpayer is not at all represented"—

How canst thou then say to thy brother: Brother, let me cast out the mote that is in thine eye, when thou thyself beholdest not the beam that is in thine own eye? Cast out first the beam that is in thine own eye, and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote that is in thy brother's eye.

Not about suzerainty thou goest to war. Thou knowest well enough that in the last Convention no suzerainty is mentioned.

Do not say: "We only want equality of rights for all men, for all races;" for this is not the reason either why thou art going to war. This is only a pretext; thou wantest something more, something quite different.

If the Transvaal were a poor country the rights of its inhabitants would leave thee quite indifferent; but now that diamond fields and gold mines have been found there—considering that riches give power and that power surpasses right—thou sendest a hundred ships and more, with soldiers, to fight as in the time of the ancients, for the possession of the golden fleece. Thou dreadest the force of the once by thee so deeply disdained and wronged African Dutch race, which, like the European Dutch race, though naturally averse to war, never fears it when liberty and justice demand it.

Since thou knowest that thou hast forfeited their trust, thou art afraid of being treated as thou hast treated them; and thou art resolved to subdue these Afrikanders. Thou wishest to be the sole commander in South Africa, even by treading upon all rights, by robbing all free states of their freedom. The whole map of South Africa must be colored in thy scarlet color, be it even with the blood of the Boers. This horrible, unjust war is, to use Mr. Stead's words, "an outrage upon Christianity and humanity."

Nemesis will not tarry. This war thou mayest win or lose; but

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in any event it will carry with it the consequences of its iniquity. Thy credit and thy reputation are gone; public opinion throughout Europe is against thee; South Africa hast thou made an irreconcilable enemy, and there thou shalt spill thy best blood. It is the beginning of the end.

DEN BEER POORTUGAEL.

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THE PEOPLE'S PARTY.

I AM requested by THE FORUM to contribute an article on "The People's Party," and especially to answer the following questions:

1st. Will the People's Party be a feature in the next campaign?

2d. Or is the party, as many believe, disintegrating?

Yes, the People's Party will be "a feature in the next campaign." The national convention of the party will be held as early as April or May next, and will nominate candidates for President and Vice-President.

No, the People's Party is not disintegrating. In 1892, in the first Presidential campaign after it was organized, the People's Party polled over 1,500,000 votes for Weaver and Field. In 1894, in the Congressional elections, the People's Party polled over 2,000,000 votes. Since that time the party has coöperated more or less with the other silver forces in many States and Congressional districts, and did so in the Presidential campaign of 1896; so it has not been practicable to state with precision what the total party vote was in these elections. But it is certain that there are more Populists in the United States to-day than there were in 1892 or 1894. The principles of the People's Party, as set forth in the Omaha platform of 1892, were severely denounced then by thousands and hundreds of thousands who are to-day convinced that that platform contained the leading and greatest fundamental principles of good government.

It is true that here and there certain small elements and factions have sloughed off, as is always the case, and as is to be expected, after the organization of a new party or movement. A certain number of malcontents, who always exist under every form of government and condition of society, are prone to join any new organization or movement, not because they have any convictions, but simply because they hope to use the new movement as a means to satisfy some ulterior object or personal grievance. This has always been true, whether the new movement was in Church or State; and it is equally true that these elements slough off when they find that the overwhelming majority of those in it are patriotically disinterested and sincere, in regard

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to the advancement of some great economic ideas or the correction of some glaring abuses, and that, therefore, they cannot use the organization for their ulterior purposes. The People's Party has, happily, passed through that critical stage, and is now rid of that inevitable incubus.

I am aware that there are surface appearances which would indicate, to a certain extent, that the People's Party is disintegrating; and it is these, no doubt, that have prompted the questions I have been asked to answer. It will be well to digress for a moment to examine the causes of these surface appearances and their meaning.

The People's Party was not created by politicians. Ninety-nine per cent of the party is composed of what is known as the rank and file of the Democratic and Republican parties. It was called into being by existing conditions and the necessities of advancing civilization. During the years 1890, 1891, and 1892—when the People's Party sprang into existence, not only in every part of the Union, but in every State in the Union—and for many years before, neither one of the old political parties, either in its platforms or its candidates, even pretended to stand for the great fundamental principles of republican government as set forth in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States, and as avowed and practised by Jefferson, Jackson, and Lincoln; namely, that money, the life-blood of commerce, should be issued by the people themselves through their agent, the Government; that its volume should be increased from year to year to keep pace with the demands of increasing population and business, so as to maintain the stability of prices and uniformity in the debt-paying power; and that every dollar of such money so issued, whether stamped on gold, silver, paper, or other substance, should be, at all times, a full legal tender—an equal to every other dollar.

Both of these old parties had deserted this sound, wise, and equitable doctrine of finance, had practically turned over the business of issuing money and of the control of its volume to a few private individuals, and had given them full license to control its volume, not according to the needs of the country, but according to their own selfish instincts, which always prompt the desire to make money at the expense of the remainder of our population. Transportation and the transmission of intelligence, the other two great instruments of commerce—the three composing the highest and most important governmental functions, so declared by our Constitution—had also been abandoned and turned over to syndicates of private individuals.

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Those who in any country control these three great instruments of commerce, which are the three great natural monopolies of the business world, control not only the greatest power to levy and collect taxes in that country, but absolutely control its business as well. They have in their hands the arteries of commerce, the avenues of trade. The door of opportunity to individual effort can be closed at their touch and can be opened only at their will. That such a power should never be in the hands of so small a portion of the people, but should always be controlled by all the people through their agency, the Government, seems too plain for controversy ; for whenever and wherever the mistake is made of surrendering these all-powerful agencies into the hands of a few, then the inevitable result has always been and always will be, not only excessive charges—enormous taxation levied by a few upon all the people to build up private fortunes—but also the crushing out of all competition in business, and the centralizing of every commercial enterprise and industry into the hands of a few syndicates.

In short, when this terrible mistake is made by any government, at once three of the greatest trusts known to history are created and placed in private hands—a trust on money, a trust on transportation, and a trust on the transmission of intelligence. These three great mother trusts logically and inevitably produce the few great, dominating, and all-powerful, industrial combinations known as industrial trusts. Those who control these three great mother trusts, of course own and control their creatures, the industrial trusts ; and these, together, though small in number, at once become the governing power in that country. They are greater than the people's government, because they have the power to control that government and to dominate the business world.

This situation was not so fully developed in 1891 and 1892—when the People's Party was organized—as it is now ; but that it was coming, and had to come, with these instruments of commerce in private hands, was even then clearly to be seen. It was also clear that this condition of affairs would surely undermine and overthrow republican institutions, as well as be a check upon advancing civilization, by crushing out individual effort and independent business enterprises.

The People's Party sprang into existence at the demand of civilization, to remove these fundamental errors and to clear the way for future progress. This will be evident upon a perusal of the first national platform of the party. Its chief object was to destroy industrial

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trusts and to open the door of opportunity for individual enterprise, by restoring the three great instruments of commerce to the people, to be controlled by them through their agent, the Government, for the benefit of all, without discrimination against any, and with equal favor to all. Indeed, to open the door of opportunity and to restore healthy competition by removing this disease from our industrial system, was the sole purpose of the platform of principles promulgated by the party.

The other planks of the platform refer to minor, cognate, and kindred subjects which logically follow. That is, the party declared for municipal ownership of city lighting plants, water works, and other natural monopolies necessary in the various municipalities. The platform declared for Postal Savings Banks, which the people of nearly every civilized country of the world, except ours, already enjoy. It declared for an income tax as a means, to some extent, of equalizing taxation. This remedy, however, is chiefly corrective ; for it is one which probably would never have been necessary if the principles of the People's Party had been in operation since the foundation of the Government. It also declared for the initiative and referendum, and for the election of United States Senators by a direct vote of the electors of the respective States. It is probably safe to say that to-day a majority of the voters of America believe in these principles ; and many who have not yet fully accepted them realize that unless some other remedy is soon found to remove the industrial trusts from the body politic, the remedy proposed by the People's Party must be applied. Indeed, each day the conviction is growing and spreading that the platform of the People's Party contains the only sure remedy for the growing trust evil—a remedy that will remove the causes that produce them.

Now the question arises, If the above is true, why is it that the People's Party has not gone forward with rapid growth as an organization? The answer is, that this is exactly what would have happened if both the old parties had continued to occupy the position—which was practically the same position—they occupied in 1892 and 1894. The growth of the People's Party and its principles was making such rapid strides that the Democratic Party in its national convention at Chicago, in 1896, was forced by the rank and file of its party—which had been aroused to the true situation by the campaign of education carried on by the People's Party—to retreat from Clevelandism and take a long step toward the principles of Jefferson, Jackson, and Lin-

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coln. It was not only the Democratic platform of 1896, but, probably more than the platform, the candidate for President, his sterling integrity, what he stood for, and the faith of the people in him, that temporarily checked the growth of the People's Party as an organization.

Those in the Democratic Party who were convinced that the People's Party platform was right, or at least nearer so than that of their own party, and who were ready to join the People's Party, stopped to await future developments. At the same time, that considerable element of the rank and file of the Republican Party which was convinced to the same effect proceeded to form a separate organization of their own, known as the Silver Republican Party. So the half-million votes that to-day make up the Silver Republican Party, and the three or four million voters who are still in the Democratic Party, but who were ready to join the People's Party, and who really forced the adoption of the Chicago platform, would to-day be in the People's Party had the Chicago Convention of 1896 readopted the Democratic platform of 1892. So it will be seen that never have the principles of the People's Party made more rapid strides than during the period from 1894 to 1898 ; though the party, as an organization, has been practically at a standstill for the reasons above stated.

Now for the future. Should the Democratic Party fail to advance and to keep pace with the demands of commerce and civilization, should it again become simply a party of negation, as it has too often been in the past, the People's Party in the next election would poll over 6,000,000 votes.

The voters who believe in People's Party principles are here, the organization is standing intact, and it will so remain as a nucleus around which a majority of the American voters can rally and will rally when the time and occasion arise. In the mean time, the campaign of education will go on. The organization will have its candidates in every campaign, and will stand as a sentinel on the watch-tower.

MARION BUTLER.

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WASHINGTON'S UNIVERSITY.

On the 14th of last December, just one hundred years had elapsed since the death of the Father of our Country. In his will he left a fund for the establishment of a National University in the capital city of his founding. His grateful people have erected many monuments to commemorate his noble deeds in war and his nobler example in peace; they have set up statues in all parts of the country; they have given his name to the national capital, to one sovereign State, and to many counties and towns; they have erected at the seat of government a colossal shaft of white marble—fit symbol of the purity and dignity of his character; but they have still to complete the monument appointed by Washington himself in his last will and testament. To this memorial, the only one apparently he ever really desired, and which he considered most necessary for the permanence and progress of the government he had established, Washington devoted much thought during the years of his civilian service. The time seems to be a fitting one to consider his plans for the university which he designed to be the monument to his finished work, and at once the safeguard and crowning glory of the republic.

A few good people among us are disposed to berate their fellow-citizens for their apparent neglect of this, the dearest plan of Washington's heart, and seek the explanation for the long delay in its execution in the bickerings, prejudices, and jealousies of our sectarian, sectional, and political classes. Though fully recognizing the influence of these parties among us, the student of history knows that Washington's University has not been completed simply because the American people have not been ready for it. The United States had to become a nation before it could have a National University.

Great monarchies, founded upon the "divine right" to govern, begin the training of their people by building national universities and professional schools in which to educate agents to rule, and officers to drill, their subjects. They mould and train, rather than educate, their citizens from above downward, to the end that each one may fit exactly into his appointed place and do his prescribed

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work as well as possible. In such a government the university for the classes comes first in time; the free school for the masses coming last.

In the republic this order of procedure is exactly reversed. The democracy is founded upon the individual man, who must be educated and trained and then be given the opportunity to acquire wealth before he is competent to build universities. It begins with the free school and educates its citizens from below upward, through high schools and colleges; lifting all up and up in proportion to their qualifications, and finally sending a few of them to the university to be made leaders of thought and action. The democratic system of education gives every man the freest opportunity to become in the fullest measure all for which nature has fitted him. It aims so to educate each individual man that he may attain the maximum of his possibilities in the direction of his peculiar talents and opportunities. It produces, not a series of type men, moulded to fit particular places, but a world of freely developed souls, strong to do the work for which their Creator made them. This system produces, not a few classes of good workers like the monarchy, but a great variety of noble men and women possessing infinite diversity of potentiality and purpose. The democracy gives a chance to the poor boy, as well as the rich, and demands of each that he be the best, and do the best, he can. It aims, thus, not to trim the man to fit a little place, but to educate him, to carve out an ample place to fit himself.

A few of our educators have, with President Eliot, denied that it is the duty of our government to establish a National University, on the ground that such an institution must necessarily be parental or patriarchal, the agency of a "grace-of-God government," and out of place, therefore, in "a modern republican confederation." The object of such a government is to train freemen to make good citizens by letting them guide and govern themselves. We give the man the ballot, not primarily to secure good government—and we rarely get it—but to interest him in society, and thereby educate him to be a better and a broader man. "Self-reliance is the very essence of republicanism;" and "the habit of being helped by the government, even if it be for things good in themselves—to churches, universities, and railroads—is a most insidious and irresistible enemy of republicanism." This is very true of a patriarchal or monarchical government. But when the man helped is a part of the gov-

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ernment himself, and recognizes this fact in all he does, the whole argument falls.

A democracy is only an enlarged coöperative company—an association of equal freemen leagued together for mutual protection and support. So long as each member of the democracy remembers this there is no danger of his being spoiled by such government assistance. If free schools, high schools, and universities supported by the taxes voluntarily laid upon themselves by the citizens of a State are right, then is the National University, the capstone of the American pyramid of public education, right too. If the "old Massachusetts method of local taxation for universal elementary education" is a proper plan, as Mr. Eliot claims, then it is just as proper for the people to tax themselves for the support of a national school at Washington as for the support of a high school in Boston. We have gone too far to question the right or propriety of supporting institutions of higher education by Congressional action. The land-grant institutions alone have fully justified such a policy.

Before the American people could establish the National University they had first to make homes, develop the resources of their country, accumulate capital, and build academies and colleges. Washington's University will thus be the ripest fruit of the civilization of his people. This University should be to the United States what the University of Berlin is to United Germany. It should be the chief university of all American universities, the graduate university for professors, philologists, historians, economists, students of politics, scientific investigators, engineers, and advanced students in all departments of literature, science, and technology. It should be to Harvard, Yale, Pennsylvania, Princeton, Cornell, Chicago, Stanford all that these are to the smaller colleges, and even more. The University of the United States will not supplant or even antagonize any of the existing institutions in this country, not even those in the District of Columbia. It should be to them all what Berlin and Leipzig are now —a place of resort for their professors and advanced students.

The fact that the Baptists have established their Columbian University, the Catholics their Catholic University, and the Methodists their "American University," in the District of Columbia, shows their wisdom and foresight. Their existence there is not an argument against Washington's proposal, but evidence that the time has come when we must have the real National University. These sectarian institutions may be very excellent and useful in their way; but they

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occupy a very different field from the proposed University of the United States. They are devoted, necessarily, and chiefly, to languages, literature, philosophy, history, and theology, and, for the most part, to the undergraduate work in these departments. They cannot, in the nature of things, compete in science or in general graduate work with a National University.

What was Washington's conception of the object and function of his National Seminary of Learning? In addition to his public addresses, we are fortunate in the possession of a large number of his letters written at different times during the last ten years of his life; and from them we learn that he had three leading objects in founding the National University: (1), the development of the national spirit; (2), the advancement of our "knowledge of the principles of Politics and good Government;" and (3), the "promotion of science" and "the advancement of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures" in America. Let us consider each of these briefly as expounded by Washington himself.

First, the National Seminary should promote the development of the national spirit among the people of the newly united colonies. How much they needed to have their patriotism cultivated, especially their respect for the central government, no one knew better than Washington. In his will he says: "It has been my ardent wish to see a plan devised on a liberal scale which would have a tendency to spread systematic ideas through all parts of this rising empire, thereby to do away with local attachments and State prejudices, as far as the nature of things would or indeed ought to admit, from our national councils. Looking anxiously forward to the accomplishment of so desirable an object as this (in my estimation), my mind has not been able to contemplate any plan more likely to effect the measure than the establishment of a university in the central part of the United States." In this institution he hoped the future rulers of the country might be "enabled to free themselves in a proper degree from those local prejudices and habitual jealousies which have just been mentioned, and which when carried to excess are never failing sources of disquietude to the public mind and pregnant of mischievous consequences to this country." He repeats the same idea frequently in his letters.

Washington knew well the evils that might arise from "local attachments and State prejudices." During the war he had been constantly distressed by the jealousies and quarrels of his officers from

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different States, who were often as ready to fight each other as to attack the British. The colonies had given him almost infinite anxiety under the old Confederation; and he had seen the States he had liberated and organized under the Constitution thrown again and again almost into anarchy, all for the want of the national spirit. No wonder, then, that Washington sought first of all through his University to "do away with local attachments and State prejudices." Sectional divisions have been the curse of our country throughout its history. What if he had succeeded in establishing his University early in the century, and Webster and Calhoun, Davis and Seward, Toombs and Chase had been educated together in the fraternal intercourse of student life in the National Seminary? Would the history of our country have been written in so much blood? Who can say? We cannot tell what "might have been," but it is not too late to try what may be done by a National University to fill the hearts of our future statesmen with a deep and abiding love for their whole country.

Secondly, Washington designed the National University to promote the study of "Politics and good Government." In view of our vast, new responsibilities to other peoples and to the world at large, it is not necessary to expatiate here upon our need of national schools of international law, diplomacy, colonial administration, international trade, and commercial relations. A special school for consuls is proposed. We need all these; but let us not forget the tremendous questions we still have to solve in the interests of our home people. Washington saw our need of such schools a hundred years ago. In a letter to Thomas Jefferson of March 15, 1795, he gives five reasons for locating his proposed seminary at the capital city; three of them being based upon the advantages it would afford for the study of the social sciences. These ideas and arguments are repeated again and again in his correspondence, and in his last annual address to Congress, December 7, 1795, where he says: "A primary object of such a national institution should be the education of our youth in the science of government. In a republic, what species of knowledge can be equally important, and what duty more pressing on its legislature, than to patronize a plan for uniting it to those who are to be the future guardians of the liberties of the country?" On this subject it is impossible to add anything to these words of the wonderful Washington.

There is an indefinite fear in the minds of some of our educators that a university at Washington provided for by Congress, whether

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directly or indirectly, would be constantly in danger from political interference, first with the regents and later with the faculty and the subjects and the methods of instruction. The magnificently successful career of our Smithsonian Institution, directed by an independent body of regents, and the splendid services of our great scientific surveys and bureaus, directed largely, as well as provided for, by Congress, should be a sufficient answer to this objection. Albeit all our great scientific departments are directly dependent upon Congress, it has never seriously interfered with their legitimate work, but has steadily built them up, until now we have a system of technical bureaus, designed to develop the resources of the country and to direct the constructive work of the army and navy, which may be said to be the admiration of the world. The only scandals that have ever occurred in their management were caused, not by Congress, but by over-zealous or partisan secretaries, or other administrative officers. Congress has not only been generous in its legislation for scientific and educational institutions, but astonishingly liberal in allowing them to do their work in their own way. Thus, the history of these institutions furnishes little ground for this fear.

This distrust of Congress, so commonly expressed by our learned academicians, is not altogether reasonable. Congress is simply the American people assembled to attend to their own business. It is made up of some of the best of the people, and to distrust it is to distrust ourselves. The people they represent have proved highly competent to conduct vast systems of public schools, high schools, and universities, in the several States; and surely we can trust them to devise a safe plan for managing a National University, when we are ready for one. Any other view is cowardly and absurd.

If there were any real ground for this fear, it would only prove our need of a university faculty at Washington made up of our ablest and most learned men. If national legislators are so ignorant or partisan that we cannot trust the university in their neighborhood, then let us make haste to send to Washington our very best and wisest scholars, whose presence cannot fail to influence Congress for the better. If we make the University of the United States what it ought to be, it will represent the ripest scholarship and the most advanced science, the truest history and the most profound philosophy, the highest thought and the purest heart that our country possesses. Such a body of scholars and scientific men would command the respect of the entire people; and by assisting Congress in all matters of

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expert knowledge it would do much to improve legislation and advance the government. Such a body of wisdom and virtue would in time do far more to direct Congress than Congress could possibly do to direct it. We need such a power in Washington, both to guide in time of perplexity, and to steady in time of excitement. The University of the United States would be both compass and ballast to our ship of state. Our scholars of the present time are studying more and more the real things of life, and are drawing nearer and nearer to the people, on the one side, and to our rulers, on the other. The business man is rapidly learning to respect the scientist, the politician to esteem the historian, and the capitalist to regard the philosopher—leading us to hope that the time is near at hand when they will all work side by side for the good of their common country.

The advancement of science and industry was the third object in Washington's mind, in proposing the establishment of the National University. This object has been strangely overlooked in the discussions of this subject, and requires, therefore, more careful consideration. Washington constantly urged upon Congress "the advancement of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, by all proper means," but especially by the "patronage of science." This is the theme of some of the most earnest passages in his addresses; and it is discussed at great length in many of his letters. It is a noteworthy fact, to which attention has not been called hitherto, so far as the present writer knows, that Washington always discussed the advancement of agriculture and industry, and the promotion of science, in connection with the necessity of the National Seminary of Learning. In his first annual address he discusses the advancement of agriculture, industry, and commerce, by promoting science, and concludes by suggesting a National University as the means to accomplish these desirable ends. And this is again the line of thought in his last annual address, where he repeats his arguments with still greater emphasis.

George Washington was a student of nature and an engineer of ability. Some have wondered where he got his remarkable knowledge of natural science and his practical engineering skill. His schooling was extremely limited. Old Hobby, the sexton of the parish, taught him reading, writing, and arithmetic; and Mr. Williams, who kept the school at Bridges Creek, appears to have taught him a little mathematics and surveying. But where did he get his marvellous knowledge of men and things? In one sense Washington was fortunate in his limited opportunities for schooling. What would have happened

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to our country if he had remained under the control of the classical scholars of his day until he was twenty-one years of age, I will not undertake to say. I feel certain that the world would never have heard so much about George Washington.

Washington got his knowledge of nature as the young surveyor running lines for Lord Fairfax through the fertile valleys, and over the mountains, of the beautiful Shenandoah Valley, and as the young soldier ranging the forests of the Western wilderness in pursuit of Indians. He got his knowledge of men by association with the best men in America at that time, and his knowledge of history and politics, by reading books whenever and wherever he could find them. As Everett has eloquently said, "This was the gymnastic school in which Washington was brought up; in which his quick eye was formed, destined to range hereafter across the battle-field through clouds of smoke and bristling bayonets; the school in which his senses, weaned from the taste of those detestable indulgences, miscalled pleasures, in which the flower of adolescence so often languishes, were early braced up to the sinewy manhood which becomes 'The lord of the lion heart and eagle eye.'" Thus was the man of destiny made; not by schools, but by contact with nature, men, and books.

With this education, Washington was early led to appreciate the importance of the physical and the mechanical sciences as means of developing the country and promoting its industries. He advocated an inland system of navigation which should tie the vast region west of the Alleghanies to the Atlantic States. He advised the establishment of boards of agriculture to collect and diffuse information with regard to farming and horticulture; and he urged the establishment of a military academy where the art of war might be studied. Washington was, in short, an earnest advocate of the new education as opposed to the old; and we owe to him not only our military and naval academies and our unrealized ideal, the National University of Science, but also, in a great degree, our scientific surveys and bureaus.

Our greatest scientific department, the Department of Agriculture, has been traced directly to the Father of the Country. Washington was the first scientific farmer of his day, and took the deepest interest in everything that pertained to the advancement of this art. In his first annual address he says, "It will not be doubted that with reference either to individual or national welfare agriculture is of primary importance. In proportion as nations advance in population and other circumstances of maturity, this truth becomes more apparent and ren-

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ders the cultivation of the soil more and more an object of patronage, and institutions for promoting it grow up supported by the public purse; and to what object can it be dedicated with greater propriety?" In pursuance of this thought he proposed a "board of agriculture;" and this suggestion led in time to the establishment of our present Department.

Agriculture, manufactures, and commerce were all to be advanced by the study of science. But where were the youths of that day to get the required training in science? All the colleges in America at that time were wholly given over to ancient languages, philosophy, and theology. It was with a view to the advancement of scientific study as well, that Washington advocated the establishment of the University of the United States. It was designed to promote the national spirit, to educate statesmen, but especially to supply the great need of the times—the knowledge of the natural sciences, which was to be the basis of this advancement in agriculture and industry.

The National Seminary of Learning for which the Father planned and argued has never been chartered or organized; but, though nameless and homeless, it really exists to-day in the great government libraries, surveys, and laboratories which have grown up around Congress and the departments in Washington. The Smithsonian Institution, the Department of Agriculture, the Geological and other surveys, the Naval Observatory, the great Congressional Library, the Army Medical Museum, the other great collections in the different departments, and the many scientific, technical, historical, and judicial institutions and societies in the capital city form a great university in themselves.

Washington evidently expected the National University to promote the work of these scientific and technical bureaus, and through them to develop the various industries of the country. It is remarkable that the actual process of evolution has been the opposite of this. Our abounding resources and the prodigious demands of constructive civilization in America early made scientific surveys and technical bureaus absolutely necessary. Therefore, we did not wait for the University; but the Federal Government has used all the known agencies of science to develop the country and build its public works, training the men to do this in its own laboratories as they grew. Instead of the University giving rise to the scientific surveys and bureaus, and nurturing them, the surveys and bureaus have grown up independently, and gone ahead with their work, until now the University is destined to arise out of them.

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Under the conditions existing in our country one hundred years ago, it was right that the practical work should be first considered and research and teaching subordinated to it. Gradually, however, these bureaus have multiplied, have become more and more differentiated and more and more efficient, until now we have an agency for doing almost everything that science can do toward a nation's advancement. These bureaus now engage altogether the services of some six thousand scientific men, inclusive of assistants, and expend ten millions of dollars a year. In recent years the research work in them has grown in most promising fashion, and with it the demand for special and advanced instruction.

Mr. McGee has told the story of the development of these great scientific establishments ("Harper's," March, 1898), and has explained their important relations to the schools and colleges of the country. These relations are of three kinds: First, the graduates of the colleges seek positions for advanced work in the federal institutions. They come in through the civil service, or by direct appointment, as field and laboratory assistants, and secure positions which correspond to fellowships and scholarships in the universities. This is well illustrated in the Department of Agriculture, which has recently invited the graduates of the agricultural colleges to file their theses and other evidences of fitness and receive appointments, as vacancies occur, to positions of assistants in its laboratories of chemistry, botany, vegetable physiology, and bacteriology, or as field workers in its biological, botanical, forestry, and other surveys. The Division of Forestry alone had twenty-eight student assistants at work last summer. By this wise and liberal act, the present Secretary of Agriculture has done more to bring about the opening of the National School of Science than anything that has occurred for many years. Some of the other departments are doing the same thing for the students from various colleges; although they have not formulated or announced a definite method for bringing them into their corps. There is no reason why they should not do precisely what the Department of Agriculture has done, and use the machinery of the Civil Service Commission to select graduates of the colleges to fill many positions in their service.

The second relation is by selecting experts from among university professors and assistants, who give their spare time or vacation periods to the federal service. Relations of this kind between the universities and the Department of Agriculture and the Geological Survey have, it is said, so multiplied of late years that there is now scarcely a first-

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class institution in the country that has not some professors at work for these federal institutions.

In the third relation, the scientific men and experts of the government bureaus are called to fill chairs in the State universities, there to train men to carry on the work of the nation. Thus is the round of services completed. The graduates of the universities come into the federal service as assistants, earn promotion, and go to the front of their professions; some of them are called back, in due time, to the universities, where they train other assistants to take their places in the service, and where they usually continue special work for the government. In this manner have we realized many of the benefits of the University of Advanced Science for which Washington plead and labored; but still that University has no name, no general organization, and no home.

The disadvantages of this situation are numerous and apparent. The vast libraries, collections, and scientific laboratories belonging to the government are, as a rule, open only to students who hold appointments either as officers or assistants, or to others only as a favor, and then often under embarrassing and difficult circumstances. The vast and costly collections and laboratories are only partially utilized at best, chiefly because the facilities provided to promote their use by the scholars of the country are, as a rule, very poor. So little advertisement is made in most cases of the fact of their existence, that one must usually go to Washington to hunt up and examine them before he can ascertain what there is he can use. Albeit the scientific men of Washington are most hospitable to all inquiring students, little or no general direction or assistance is provided for students at the executive offices of the various institutions; and, of course, no lectures or examinations are given. We need, in the first place, laws which shall more fully open these magnificent collections and laboratories to the proper students, under suitable direction; secondly, a central bureau to organize and announce the work, advertise it, and assist students; and thirdly and most important of all, a practicable system for using the various minor positions in these laboratories and surveys for the benefit of advanced students from the colleges. In this way will the federal scientific institutions become the graduate university to all the colleges and universities of the country.

The demand for scientific and technical education has made itself felt, however, in other, and even more important ways than by the establishment of scientific bureaus in Washington. The origin and

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development of the agricultural colleges, established under the Morrill Act of 1862, were a part of the general educational movement against the old classical college and in favor of scientific training. The fact that these institutions were called agricultural colleges was a concession to the demands of the farmers of the country, who felt their need of a different education from that afforded by the old classical schools. They are, in fact, broad, scientific, and technical colleges.

As all the great institutions of Europe grew out of the monastic schools of the Middle Ages, so our first American colleges and schools were all the children of the churches. The preachers were in the early days almost the only learned men, and, therefore, the only teachers to be had. Institutions for higher education were founded by the associations and presbyteries of the different churches; and the most learned of their clergy became, thus, the instructors of the youth. As their founders and teachers were all preachers, the early colleges were devoted exclusively to the cultivation of the classics, philosophy, and theology. Their parson-teachers taught what they held to be the only things worth knowing, or, at least, the only things they knew. Certainly they were right in putting character and culture above everything else. But a rapidly growing country, like America, needed engineers, miners, and manufacturers; and an ambitious people were not slow to make their wants heard and felt.

Some of the physical sciences, notably chemistry and geology, were already making great progress and revolutionizing some of the arts. Liebig's letters on chemistry were eagerly read by the farmers, who cherished bright hopes of the benefits to be derived from the application of all the sciences to their business. The same was true in a lesser degree of the laborers in other callings. Discovery and invention were already doing much to utilize the resources of the world, and to change the occupations of men. Steam was beginning to be used for transportation, and chemistry to be applied in making steel and in dyeing fabrics. America needed canals and railroads to open up and bind together its enormous territory; but there were no schools to train the engineers to build them. Mines of coal and iron needed to be opened; but miners had to be imported to open them. Factories needed to be built; but mechanics had to be brought over from England or Holland to build them. These influences and the general need of scientific knowledge in a rapidly developing country produced a profound effect on the theories and practices of education; resulting in a vigorous demand for a new class of institution, one which should

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train men to work at the real problems of life, rather than to discuss the literatures and philosophies of the ancients. Such were the forces which gave rise to our present magnificent system of national colleges, commonly known as the land-grant or agricultural colleges.

These institutions have now been established in all the States and Territories, and are training thousands of young men and women for the industrial professions. It is chiefly from them and from the similar State universities that the scientific bureaus at Washington draw their assistants. The National University is demanded especially as the graduate department of this great system of national colleges and State universities. In view of this situation, and, especially in view of the fact that all the departments of the National School of Science, except the central bureau, are already organized and actually doing the work so long desired, is it not absurd to spend time in arguing about the constitutionality or advisability of the Federal Government supporting a graduate scientific university? The only question is, how to get it opened to all worthy students upon fair and equal terms. The university is there. The problem is, how to make it, not the institution of the favored few who can get federal appointments, but the university of all the people of these United States. Surely, no one can disapprove of the proposition that every qualified person of either sex, from any place, of whatever age, should have the same rights as a student in the government libraries and laboratories that federal officials now enjoy; and if this be true, who can deny them the aid which the central bureau, with its deans, registrars, professors, and lecturers could so easily give?

To sum up. What is wanted now is, not another general university to be a rival to the established institutions of the country, but a graduate university, for science first, with schools, possibly, for the social sciences, jurisprudence, international law, and especially for training diplomats and consuls. The place to begin is, with the department of science, for which we have nearly all the laboratories and men ready in Washington. An actual canvass shows that the men and facilities are here, and that we could begin the instruction in a department of science within a month, if only the building, a central organization, and a few thousand dollars for current expenses were provided. The George Washington Memorial Association is collecting the fund for the central building. Is it possible that this great people cannot provide the small annual amount necessary to inaugu-

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rate the first department of Washington's University, the only monument he desired?

Is not the present time, which marks at once the anniversary of the death of the Father of his Country and the beginning of a new century of progress for that country, the proper time to open to all the people of these United States the university which Washington founded? We are delighted to know that these questions are now being considered by a committee of the regents of the Smithsonian Institution. May we not hope that this institution, which has already been the parent of several great national establishments of science, will begin its work in the new century by organizing this, the greatest establishment of them all, and opening, not merely to America, but to all the world, the University of the United States?

CHARLES W. DABNEY.

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A PLEA FOR OLD-AGE PENSIONS.

On the eve of the adjournment of the first session of the Parliament of 1899, the Select Committee of the House of Commons on "The Aged Deserving Poor" reported in favor of a scheme of State pensions for worn-out workers. The report was not unanimous. Nine members voted for and four against the chairman's proposition, "That this report, as amended, be the report of the Committee to the House." The minority were not, however, united in opposition to the principle of old-age pensions. Three of the four dissenting members had submitted or suggested kindred plans or proposals of their own, and differed only with the majority on some of the rival propositions contained in the Committee's report. Mr. Lecky, M.P., the distinguished historical writer, was the solitary, uncompromising opponent of national pensions in substitution for poor-law relief.

Parliament was unable to deal with the result of the Committee's labors in a session which, at the time when Mr. Chaplin tendered his report to the House of Commons, was within a week of its annual adjournment. In any case, it would have been necessary for the Government to have had adequate time in which to consider the proposals before adopting them as a basis for some enactment; and the period between two sessions is usually that in which ministers decide upon the scope and character of a measure which is to deal with questions of similar public importance. Lord Salisbury's Government is, therefore, expected to introduce a bill of some kind, within the next few months, which will probably embody the main recommendations of the recent Select Committee.

These proposals are as follows:

"(1) That a pension authority should be established in each union[1] of the country, to receive and to determine applications for pensions.

(2) That the authority for this purpose should be a Committee of not less than six or more than twelve members appointed by the guardians from their own number in the first instance.

(3) That the Committee, when so appointed, should be independent of the Board of

[1] A division of a county for purposes of poor-law administration and relief.

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Guardians, and that other members should be added to it, subject to regulations to be made by the Local Government Board, and that it is desirable that other public bodies within the area should be represented on the Committee, and that a majority of the Committee shall be members of the Board of Guardians.

(4) That the cost of the pensions should be borne by the Common Fund of the union, and that a contribution from Imperial sources should be made to that fund in aid of the general cost of the poor-law administration; such contribution to be allocated, not in proportion to the amount distributed in each union in respect of pensions, but, on the basis of population, not to exceed one-half of the estimated cost of the pensions.

(5) That the amount of the pensions in each district should be fixed at not less than five shillings or more than seven shillings a week, at the discretion of the Committee, according to the cost of living in the locality, and that it should be paid through the medium of the post office.

(6) That the pension should be awarded for a period of not less than three years, to be renewed at the end of that period, but subject to withdrawal at any time by the pension authority, if in its opinion the circumstances should demand it."

It was further advised:

"In order to facilitate the inquiries of the pension authority and to prevent as far as possible attempts at fraudulent misrepresentations, that applications for a pension should be made on a prescribed form, and should be signed before a justice of the peace on oath, without fee."

These seven proposals were each the result of a compromise between the conflicting opinions prevailing among the members of the Select Committee upon three of the cardinal points of the whole pension question—the machinery of administration, the sources from which the cost of the pensions was to come, and the sum which was to be awarded weekly to the successful applicants for this form of assistance in old age. The compromise arrived at follows the provisions of the pension law of Denmark with respect to the composition of the pension authority and the dividing of the cost between rates and taxes. Half the sum required by the Communes of Denmark for the payment of old-age pensions is voted out of general taxes by the legislature; the other half being the contribution in rates of the local authority. The Danish system has, on the whole, worked well since its adoption in 1891; and this experience has strongly recommended its chief features to British and Irish advocates of similar provisions for the deserving poor.

A strongly marked divergence of view obtained in the Select Committee with reference to the kind of authority that should receive and determine applications for pensions, and as to the tax-

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able interests on which the cost of pensions and of their administration ought to be levied. The more conservative members advocated the medium of the existing poor-law authorities, with necessary modification, as in Denmark, for the wider, but kindred, labors involved in providing for the deserving as well as the necessitous poor, and were strongly in favor of throwing all the increased expenditure of public money which the reform would demand upon the Imperial Exchequer. The opposite, or more radical, contention held that the association of the discredited poor-law with the new system for alleviating the hardships of aged and respectable workers would suggest a taint of pauperism, and that an authority like that of a county council, which would not invite any such suspicion in carrying out the purposes of a pension law, would meet with most public approval. This progressive opinion also favored the levying of the cost of pensions upon monopolies, by means of a special tax, or upon the poor rate, which, in a large measure, falls (in England, but not in Ireland) upon the propertied classes. The medium between the two extremes was, however, taken. The English disposition—in domestic reforms—loves a compromise; and the recommendations finally adopted by the majority of the Select Committee represented a blending of separate, but reconcilable, propositions.

In a spirit of similar compromise the Committee further reported, "We think that the general lines upon which a scheme for old-age pensions might best be framed should include the following conditions":

"Any person[1] who satisfies the pension authority that he

(1) Is a British subject;

(2) Is sixty-five years of age;

(3) Has not within the last twenty years been convicted of an offence and sentenced to penal servitude or imprisonment without the option of a fine;

(4) Has not received poor relief other than medical relief, unless under circumstances of a wholly exceptional character, during twenty years prior to the application for a pension;

(5) Is resident within the district of the pension authority;

(6) Has not an income from any source of more than ten shillings a week; and

(7) Has endeavored to the best of his ability, by industry or the exercise of reasonable providence, to make provision for himself and those immediately dependent on him;

shall receive a certificate to that effect and be entitled to a pension."

[1] The expression "person" means either man or woman.

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The Committee also added:

"With reference to 'the exercise of reasonable providence,' we think that the authority should be bound to take into consideration whether, and how far it has been shown, either by membership of a benefit society for a period of years, or by the endeavor of the applicant to make some provision for his own support by means of savings, or investments, or some other definite mode of thrift."

These recommendations have, on the whole, been favorably received by the press and the public. It is generally felt that they represent a marked advance in progressive reform toward the solution of one of the knottiest social problems of our day. They are not, of course, accepted as satisfactory or final by the extreme advocates of national old-age pensions. But they also invite a corresponding objection, of an opposite kind, from the champions of individualistic or anti-Socialist ideas, who assail the whole principle of State pensions for workers as visionary, mischievous, and impracticable.

The strongest argument with which the cause of State pensions, as a preventive of pauperism, has been advanced is based upon the great extent of old-age poverty in Great Britain and Ireland, and the suffering and moral injury resulting therefrom to the working classes. Mr. Chamberlain, the Colonial Secretary, has made the existence of this mass of poverty among aged workers the weightiest of his pleas for such a reform as would save these toilers from such an undeserved fate. Speaking a few years ago in support of this social reform, he used these words:

"There are certain facts of a startling character which show that the poor people, paupers in receipt of parish relief, over sixty-five years of age, in England and Wales, amount to 29.3 per cent of the population of that day—that is to say, one in three of the whole population—and if you deduct from that population one-third of the classes who, from the nature of the case, being well to do, are never likely to need poor relief, you will find that of the remainder of the population, which includes the whole industrial population of the United Kingdom, three in seven, or nearly one in two, are destined when they reach the age of sixty-five to be suppliants for parish relief."

I believe the figures here adduced—29.3 per cent—are too high. Still, the proportion is so enormous, notwithstanding England's boundless wealth as a country, that the problem of finding some remedy for this great evil of demoralizing poverty has become an urgent political issue in the public life of Great Britain.

The moral basis of the movement for old-age pensions is found in a deep-rooted, popular antipathy to the British Poorhouse. This feeling among wage-earners of both sexes is as strong as it is universal in

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Great Britain and Ireland. The "Workhouse" is considered to be a refuge of disgrace—a kind of social prison, in which individuality, character, personal worth, and self-respect are sunk and lost for life in the unmerited degradation of a pauper. This sense of wrong and shame is a penalty inflicted more through the administration of the poor-law than by the "Workhouse" itself as a shelter for the helpless or hopeless among the laboring poor.

The idea of the Poorhouse is Christian and humane: it represents the obligation under which a civilized society, as such, is placed to prevent the social crime of starvation where wealth and the produce of industry are not deemed capable of an ideal distribution. It might, likewise, be said to be, in a utilitarian, social sense, a kind of benevolent barrier erected by the exploiting classes to prevent a possible outbreak on the part of a starving section of the community against the owners of land and other possessors of riches. It is claimed, also, that the Poorhouse, in its humane aspect, is the modern substitute for an old-time, purely Christian duty, on the part of society. This duty was represented in the provision which was made in Catholic times in England for the succor of the unfortunate and the indigent among the toiling masses at the monasteries which studded the land prior to the confiscations of Henry VIII. These monasteries were all richly endowed with land and legacies for the discharge of this mingled function of charity and justice, on behalf of a society in which the principles of Christianity were the main, if not the only, protection for the rights of the laboring poor; and it was in consequence of the social and economic evils which followed the forcible disruption of this system of relieving broken-down workers that the foundations of the existing poor-law had to be constructed.

It is, however, with the Poorhouse as it is to-day, and with the pauper status of an aged worker, that popular sentiment is at war. These are the "rewards" to which an immense percentage of the industrial population must look at the end of a life of strenuous toil. The garb of "Workhouse" inmates is a badge of social humiliation. It is owing to the indiscriminate classification of decent with wastrel human elements in the wards, the prison-like discipline in vogue, and the atmosphere of depression, of idleness, and of hopelessness which prevails, that these perverted asylums for the poor are rendered so many depots of social misery and despair. There is, consequently, a moral and social revolt in the minds of the wealth-producers against this pauperization of worn-out labor. This revolt is the result of the

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better education now within reach of the working classes in the admirable board school system of primary instruction, combined with the extension of the franchise and the consequent growth of intelligent, political influence among the toiling masses.

The spread of educated Socialism in Great Britain is also a factor in fostering this feeling of industrial self-respect. It is inculcating a higher conception of the dignity and rights of workers in a complex community dependent entirely upon labor for the essential elements of existence. These ideas are germinating "a large and liberal discontent" at the unequal fortunes and fate of labor and capital in the industrial partnership of society; and before the growth and spread of this new spirit the "Workhouse" and the other objectionable features of the existing poor-law system are menaced with a radical and fundamental change, if not with a complete abolition.

The popular demand for State pensions for the aged and deserving poor is based upon other grounds as reasonable and sound as the argument against the injustice of the Poorhouse and its callous stigma of pauperism. This demand asks for justice, as a substitute for charity, at the hands of a ruling capitalistic class. It is claimed that wages, even at trades-union rates, are regulated more by the struggle for existence among competing workers than by any standard of fairness in the measurement of labor's share in the joint production of wealth. This contention is sustained in its force by the known enormous wealth of the English capitalist class, on the one hand, and, on the other, by the attested fact that one out of every four or five workers in England at the age of sixty-five has nothing to look to in his helpless years but the Poorhouse or outdoor relief. Statistics confirm the truth of this contention.

Taking land, capital, and superintendence as the three capitalistic agencies for exploiting the energies of labor in the creation of wealth, their share of the annual aggregate value of this production is computed at two-thirds of the whole; leaving one-third as the portion awarded in wages to the entire laboring class. Making every allowance for probable inaccuracy of estimate and calculation in this general statement, there can be no denial of an equivalent contention which leads to the same conclusion; namely, that there is no country in the world in which the two extremes of wealth and poverty are more objective in their existence than England. This, then, is one other ground upon which the advocates of State pensions for aged workers rest their case.

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Such pensions might in equity be called a refund of unfair wages in the form of a decent provision for the years when wages are no longer earnable. In other words, the profits of capital (including land) reaped in underpaid labor and in rent on industry should be considered as chargeable, in the manner of a premium of insurance, with the cost of providing the frugal comforts of existence for the declining years of a laboring life, without the association of any social penalty of the nature of the existing Poorhouse.

The cost of a national pension fund to the State is the strongest argument put forward against the creation of such a system. It is urged that it would add £20,000,000 a year to the existing taxpayers' burdens. This figure is a palpable exaggeration. It is not based upon any intelligible estimate of the portion of the cost which would be borne by a reform in the present wasteful expenditure, of both rates and taxes, in maintaining the condemned poor-law administration; and such a reform must necessarily be an essential part of the new order of things.

Under the existing mode of dealing with pauperized workers, it costs the public at least seven shillings a week to house and feed an inmate of a "Workhouse." That is, the salaries of officials and all other incidental charges added to the expenditure upon food and necessaries will probably amount to a sum equal to that which is the maximum weekly pension recommended in the report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons. State pensions would not, of course, be a universal substitute for the present provisions for the relief of all the poor. A thoroughly reformed "Workhouse," changed into a kind of Labor Asylum, would still be required as a refuge for those who could not qualify for a pension from the State; and the greater portion of the money now expended on Poorhouses and in outdoor relief would be wanted for the needs of such a reformed administration. But there would be a substantial economy secured through the new system, which would minimize to that extent the public charges which its organization would entail.

There is also a similar source from which auxiliary aid could be obtained in the financial working of a national pension fund. This is the field covered by the Charity Commissioners and by other subsidized agencies for the distribution of relief. The revenues at the disposal of these bodies are very large; and it is admitted on all hands that there are waste, extravagance, and overlapping in their operations. Almost all the work done by these agencies could be

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comprised within the labors of a ministry charged with the responsibility and working of State pensions; and the saving that could be effected in this way would still further reduce the cost which would otherwise be added through the pension scheme to the present taxation of the people.

In estimating the probable annual addition to this taxation which a national pension fund would entail, account has to be taken of the number of possible successful claimants, and of the amount at which their weekly allowance, or pension, would be fixed. Here again, and naturally, the greatest discrepancies exist between the respective figures of the advocates and opponents of the new proposal. Everything depends upon the basis of the calculation. It has, however, to be considered that there are arbitrary limits indicated in the recommendations of the Select Committee. These limits confine the number of labor pensioners to adults of sixty-five years and over, who are, moreover, subjected to a sifting-down process by a category of conditions and qualifications which will materially reduce the sum total of the duly qualified.

The number of persons, of all classes, of sixty-five years and over, in the population of Great Britain and Ireland, at the present time is, approximately, 1,700,000. Eliminating from this number those of the propertied class, likewise those of the trading, professional, and generally independent orders—the people who would not apply for pensions—and, also, those who would not qualify, it has been estimated that the numbers who would be a probable charge upon the proposed pension fund would range from 500,000 to 800,000 persons, or, say, an average of 650,000. These, at six shillings a week—the mean between the sums recommended by the Select Committee—would cost the State, in labor pensions, annually, in round figures, £10,000,000.

To the opponents of a pension scheme this is a prohibitive sum. To supporters it is small in comparison with the huge annual amounts voted by Parliament for a navy, already larger than that of any three rival nations, and for an army, which is not showing itself in South Africa to be in any sense worth the money expended upon it. An economy in this wasteful public expenditure could be made to produce the total pension fund required. It would, assuredly, be a better application of that amount of the people's taxes than a continued misuse of it on armies and navies; but there is no hope of any such view obtaining in the coming Parliamentary consideration of this financial feature of the national pension scheme.

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If Lord Salisbury's Cabinet resolves upon giving legislative effect to the recommendations of the Select Committee in the approaching session of Parliament, special taxes and rates will have to be levied for the purpose.

The usual party differences will come into play in deciding the question of how the money is to be found. The Select Committee gave no definite lead on this important point, beyond a suggestion that the total cost of the working of the scheme which it formulated should be divided equally between the Imperial Exchequer and the local rates. This suggestion was made as a compromise between two conflicting views: that of the conservative class, which would place the charge upon the general taxation fund of Great Britain and Ireland; that is, upon indirect taxation, and not upon property or income; and the popular or progressive plea that it should fall mainly upon local rates, which are largely levied on property owners. More extreme views are propounded by more pronounced party feelings. For instance, Radicals and State Socialists would raise the necessary revenue for pensions by a tax upon land values, while Tories would favor the imposition of a special duty upon imported food-stuffs, such as flour and meat, to provide the proposed addition to the national expenditure. It is probable, however, that the decision of the Government in preparing its Bill will be based upon the suggestion contained in the report of the Select Committee; namely, an annual grant from the Imperial Exchequer, out of the general taxes, equivalent to the amount which the local unions, on their part, will have to provide out of the poor-rate.

A more just and more popular method of raising the £10,000,000 would be to levy this sum upon the two great State-created monopolies of land-ownership and the manufacture and sale of intoxicating drinks. This proposal was submitted to the Select Committee on the following grounds:

(1) That the existing system of class ownership of land in Great Britain and Ireland has worked most injuriously to the welfare of labor in country and town; limiting opportunities of employment to workers, in rural districts, through the operations of rent and of arbitrary tenure, and adding thereby to the congestion of population in manufacturing centres, while enormously increasing, through such congestion, the value of the land upon which these towns and cities are built, such economic land value going in rents into landlords' pockets. And

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(2) That the consumption of intoxicating drinks by the laboring masses has been, and is likely to continue, a contributory cause of their comparative poverty, and an insidious hindrance in the way of more general efforts being made by them to provide for the needs of a laboring old age.

The profits from these two great State-created monopolies are, on these grounds, an appropriate and convenient source from which to derive, by new taxation, the moneys required for an old-age labor pension fund.

Such opposition to the proposed reform as will be offered by antagonists like Mr. Lecky, M.P., will not count for much. The question will be determined more by party and political considerations than by the views or essays of dialectical experts. The working classes are now the political masters of the situation. They can make or unmake Parliaments, while brilliant critics like the Member for Trinity College can wield no equivalent power. In fact, the party to which Mr. Lecky belongs, the Tory party, stands pledged before the public—in the clearest language, on the part of most of its prominent leaders, notably by Mr. Joseph Chamberlain—to this great and hazardous enterprise in the domestic legislation of Great Britain.

The change, therefore, will arrive, if not in the approaching session, at the latest in the next Parliament. It has been brought by discussion, propaganda, and party exigencies within the domain of practical politics; and not all the predictions of moral, social, and economic evils that are found promised in the anti-pension writings of reactionary political prophets like Mr. Lecky will delay the advent of a reform which both Tories and Liberals are now advocating in rival platform bids for popular support. MICHAEL DAVITT.

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WHY I OPPOSE OLD-AGE PENSIONS.

THERE are many signs that the question of old-age pensions is destined to assume a great prominence in England; although it is probable that the large increase of national expenditure which is certain to follow the present unhappy war in South Africa may, for some time, postpone actual legislation on the subject. The generation has passed away which witnessed the enormous abuses of poor-law relief that existed, under the old English poor-law, before 1834, and the rapid diminution of pauperism that was effected by the sterner administration introduced in that year.

The principles of poor-law relief which were then recognized by the best minds in England have been somewhat forgotten. These principles were that, while in England provision is made for the support of all who are absolutely destitute, it is of the utmost importance that on the whole the condition of the pauper should be a less eligible one than that of an independent laborer; that nothing should be done that could diminish habits of thrift, forethought, and steady industry among the poor; nothing that could weaken their sense of the necessity of providing for their latter days, or of their duty of supporting, when they have the means, their aged parents and relations. In accordance with these principles it was laid down that outdoor relief should be either absolutely refused to the able-bodied or only granted under most exceptional circumstances; that the workhouse test, with its stringent, deterrent discipline, should be steadily maintained; that relaxations and special favors granted out of public funds should be limited, as far as possible, to cases of special calamity which it was impossible for any prudence or foresight to have averted.

It would certainly be a great exaggeration to say that these principles have disappeared. Indeed, the robust, independent, self-respecting character which it was the object of the Manchester School to encourage is abundantly displayed in the gigantic Friendly and other working-class Coöperative Societies which have so largely increased in England during the last half century. Two of these Friendly Societies—the Manchester Unity and the Foresters—have each of

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them more than 700,000 members on their roll. At the same time it is equally certain that in many quarters a different, and, in my opinion, very dangerous, spirit prevails. In England as elsewhere there is an increased tendency to aggrandize the functions of the State and to look to State aid or State control rather than individual or coöperative effort as the remedy of every evil. Social questions have assumed a greater prominence in politics; and, with the lowering of the franchise, the vague State socialism, which, in different degrees, pervades most working-class politics, has given a bias to both parties in the State. It has become prominent in every election and has produced many rash pledges.

The close connection between taxation and representation, which was once considered the cardinal principle of English Liberalism, has, in a marked degree, diminished, both in Imperial and local taxation. It used to be contended that those who chiefly paid should chiefly regulate, and that taxation should be as much as possible the voluntary grant of the taxpayers, restricted to their common purposes. But in many quarters a different belief has grown up. It is held that in the hands of a democracy taxation should be made the means of redressing the inequalities of fortune, ability, or industry; the preponderant class voting and spending money which another class are obliged to pay. The income tax is so arranged that a large majority of the voters are exempt from its burden; a highly graduated system of death duties is now nearly the most prominent of our Imperial taxes; and the local government Act of 1894 has placed local taxation on the most democratic basis. The latter has given the power of voting rates to many who do not pay them; and, by abolishing the nominated, or ex-officio, guardians, and the plural voting of the larger ratepayers, it has almost destroyed the influence of property on local taxation.

At the same time the doctrine has arisen, and is now sedulously propagated in England, that the State ought to undertake to provide at the public expense for all old persons, or at least for all deserving old persons, who have not succeeded in obtaining a sufficient livelihood for themselves; that this provision should not be regarded as an eleemosynary grant, but as a positive right; and that, in order to free it from the taint of pauperism, and take away from the recipient all reluctance to receive it, a new fund should be created, entirely distinct from poor-law relief, and administered by some other tribunal than the poor-law guardians.

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The claim has been supported on another ground. The immense improvement of the material condition of the English working classes during the last half century is beyond all question; but it is much more evident among the young and the strong than among the old. The intense competition of modern industry, stimulated to the highest point by free trade, by the factory system, and by the vast development of machinery, has expelled the old and feeble from some of its most important fields; and the influence of trade-unions in enforcing, in each trade which they can control, a uniform and maximum wage, has obliged the employer to employ only the most efficient labor.

The old man who could once easily obtain a little work at low wages now finds it much more difficult; and the recent legislation compelling the employer to compensate his workmen for all accidents that take place in his employment, even when those accidents are in no degree due to any negligence on his own part or on that of his servants, has acted in the same direction. Such serious obligations have been thrown on the employer in the more dangerous trades, that he is obliged in self-defence to restrict himself to the workmen who are least liable to accidents; and they are naturally those whose strength, activity, and eyesight are at their best. Among the recipients of poor-law relief the proportion of men over 65 is enormously great; and some figures which, in 1893, were brought before the Commission on the Aged Poor, made a great impression on the country. It was stated that in a single year 29.3 of the whole population over 65 were in receipt of poor-law relief in England and Wales; and assuming that a third part of these old persons belonged to the well-to-do, it was calculated that not much less than three in seven must fall into the ranks of pauperism.

There has been much controversy about the accuracy of this statement; and, even if it be admitted, a good deal has been said to attenuate its force. In the poor-law system as it was reformed in 1834, it was a first principle that the workhouse, with its painful and degrading associations, was to be the chief form of poor-law relief, and that outdoor relief should only be granted on exceptional occasions and on stringent conditions. This provision has been gradually relaxed. Outdoor relief, which, in the eyes of the poor, carries with it very little of the discredit and dislike that gathers round the workhouse, is now by far the larger part of poor-law relief; and in many districts it is administered with great laxity.

It has been proved by the clearest evidence that the immense

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majority of the aged and deserving poor who are in receipt of poor-law relief, only receive it in the form of outdoor relief, and very often only in the form of medical relief, and that if they go to the workhouse, it is only when their peculiar circumstances make it desirable for them to do so. Wherever a more stringent system of relief is imposed pauperism invariably and rapidly decreases; and Mr. Loch, the Secretary of the Charity Organization Society, has collected much evidence to show that, on the whole, old-age pauperism is diminishing, though it has not been diminishing at the same rate as pauperism under the age of 60. The administration of the workhouses has also greatly improved; and the poor-law infirmaries are becoming hospitals which are largely resorted to in time of sickness by many who might easily avoid them. On the whole, old-age destitution is, and must be, a grave question for philanthropists; but there has been great exaggeration about its magnitude and its hardships.

The expediency of devising a new and better method of providing for the destitute aged poor of deserving character has long been smouldering obscurely in English politics; but it obtained a real importance for the first time when a very strong Royal Commission, under the presidency of Lord Aberdare, was appointed, at the beginning of 1893, to inquire into the question. After long and careful inquiry, and after hearing a great multitude of witnesses, this Commission reported in the spring of 1895. The majority of the members, while recommending various reforms in the administration of the poor-law, reported decisively against any system of old-age pensions, either in the form of endowment or assisted assurance, as likely to do more harm than good; but a minority, which derived special importance from the presence of Mr. Chamberlain, refused to accept this decision as final, and urged that the question should be submitted to a smaller body of experts. In the election which took place in 1895 the question appeared frequently upon the platform, and many members on both sides of politics pledged themselves on the subject.

The weight which is always attached to the speeches of Mr. Chamberlain gave a great impulse to the movement. He never countenanced the idea of universal old-age pensions which was already advocated by many; but he strongly maintained that special provision, apart from the poor-law, and in the shape of pensions, might, and ought to, be made for the old and deserving poor; he expressed his belief that such a measure "would do more than anything else to secure the happiness of the working classes;" and he suggested as the

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most feasible scheme that "whenever a man acquires for himself in a friendly society or any other society a pension of 2 shillings 6 pence a week the State should come in and double that pension." Mr. Chamberlain, however, did not insist on this precise proposal; but he gave the question a great prominence; and among politicians on both sides there was a manifest tendency to make party capital out of it.

A purely non-party Committee, presided over by Lord Rothschild, and consisting mainly of distinguished financial authorities connected with the permanent Civil Service, and, therefore, removed from active politics, was appointed in 1896, in accordance with the recommendation of the Aberdare Commission, to inquire specially into the question of old-age pensions; and it reported in a document of conspicuous ability. It was unanimous in condemning as impracticable or dangerous all the schemes for such pensions that were brought before it; and it fully confirmed the views of the preceding Commission. If this question ever becomes prominent in America, this report, and the evidence on which it is based, should be carefully considered; for it clearly shows the ways in which measures intended for the benefit of the working class may prove in the highest degree injurious to them.

If the matter could have been decided by pure reasoning, this report might have been generally accepted as decisive. But many of the supporters of the Government had at the election made speeches in favor of old-age pensions. One of its most powerful members had thrown his weight into the scale. The idea had taken hold of great sections of the working classes. The trade-unions, that see in increasing old-age poverty the chief drawback to their policy of enforcing in each trade a uniform and maximum wage, were naturally delighted that the State should undertake, out of public funds, to remove their difficulty. A number of bills dealing with the question had been introduced into the House of Commons by private members; and the reluctance of the Government to take it up had become a favorite form of party attack. The Government acted as perhaps most governments, under the circumstances, would have done. While refusing to give any pledge, and repudiating any sympathy with the idea of universal pensions, and insisting that an encouragement of thrift should be an essential condition of any old-age-pension scheme, they refused to admit that a false departure had been made; and they appointed a new Committee—of which the writer of these lines was a member—to report upon the best means of improving the condition of the aged,

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deserving poor, and upon the feasibility of dealing with their case by old-age pensions.

Mr. Chaplin, the President of the Local Government Board, an experienced and very popular member of the Cabinet, presided over the Committee; and the fact that he drew up the Report of the Majority gave that report its chief political importance. The Committee consisted largely of members who had already committed themselves deeply in favor of old-age pensions; and it will hardly be disputed in England that it carried with it much less financial and political weight than its predecessors; and that the majority report—which was carried by 9 to 4—is more remarkable for the boldness of its recommendations than for the cogency of its reasoning. It completely, and almost contemptuously, discarded the conclusions of the majority of the Aberdare Commission, and the unanimous opinion of the Rothschild Committee; and it recommended that old-age pensions, derived in part from Imperial and in part from local sources, and varying from 5 shillings to 7 shillings a week, should be granted to all the deserving poor who had attained the age of 65 and whose incomes did not exceed 10 shillings a week. It proposed that these pensions should be granted by committees established in every poor-law union and elected by the poor-law guardians; that they should be revised every three years; and that they should be distributed through the agency of the post office.

On the great difficulties that seemed so formidable to its predecessors it touched very lightly. How many of the poor were likely under the proposed system to become pensioners, and what burden of taxation was likely to be thrown on the State, were questions that were put aside as irrelevant to the inquiry. To meet the enormous difficulty of deciding upon the real merits, and of investigating the real circumstances, of the great masses of independent and industrious laborers who live in the manufacturing towns, or are constantly moving from one great centre of population to another, and circulating in quest of work through the whole extent of the Empire, it was suggested that the relief be confined to those who were resident in a single locality; and it was pointed out that a number of charities, endowed out of old legacies or donations, and applying to particular classes or districts, had come to be administered by the Charity Commissioners, and that in this restricted field they had been able to convert a large part of the income at their disposal from doles into permanent pensions.

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The thrift test and the character test, which previous inquirers had found it almost impossible to establish on a satisfactory basis, were defined on the loosest lines. The pensioner must not, during the preceding twenty years, have been sentenced to penal servitude or imprisonment without the option of a fine; he must not, during the same period of time, have been in receipt of poor-law relief "other than medical relief or unless under circumstances of a wholly exceptional character;" and he must have "endeavored to the best of his ability, by his industry and by the exercise of reasonable providence, to make provision for himself and those immediately dependent on him."

The extreme vagueness and the extreme elasticity of such provisions are sufficiently manifest; and it is difficult to see how they can give any real assistance in practical legislation; while they leave the door open to the largest and most lavish expenditure. I have endeavored in a minority report to deal with these questions at somewhat greater length than my present space will admit; but a few pages may suffice to give an outline of the case of those who believe the new policy to be both mistaken and dangerous.

Nothing is more certain or more cheering in the condition of modern England than the extraordinary diminution that has taken place, during the present generation, in pauperism. It began with the reform of the poor-law in 1834; and although it has been found possible to relax greatly the stringency of the poor-law regulations that were then made, it has steadily continued. Much of this is due to the increase in the rate of wages which has taken place in most departments of English industry, and which has been accompanied by a great decrease in the cost of most of the chief necessaries of life, as well as by a considerable reduction in the hours of work. Sir Robert Giffen, in the very remarkable paper which he published, in 1883, on the condition of the working classes in England during the preceding fifty years, has shown that in every class of work in which it is possible to make a comparison the wages of the laborer have in these fifty years risen at least 20 per cent, and in most cases between 50 and 100 per cent; and he has clearly demonstrated that no other section of the community has obtained so large a proportion of the increase of the national wealth, and improved in so great a degree in material prosperity.

But the mere increase of wages is but one element of this improvement. The very mainspring of the prosperity of the great masses

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of the British working classes is to be found in their increased sobriety, and in the habits of thrift and providence that have followed the spread of education. The statistics of the Friendly Societies, the Industrial and Provident Societies, the Building Societies, the savings banks, and of countless other institutions, created by voluntary working-class effort for the purpose of insuring against sickness, or death, and providing working-class investments, attest in the clearest manner the rapid growth of provident and thrifty habits among the wage-earning classes. In no other respect is the improvement of the nation so marked and so indisputable, and no element in the national character is more important to its prosperity and to its enduring greatness. In the evidence that was brought before our Committee, it was shown that since 1849 the pauperism of Great Britain had been reduced from 62.7 per 1,000 to 26.2 per 1,000, if lunatics and vagrants are included, to 22.8 per 1,000, if lunatics and vagrants are excluded.

The first, and most vital, condition of any sound legislation for the relief of poverty is, that it should not impair these industrial qualities, or weaken these vast voluntary organizations of self-help which are their result. Can it be said that the old-age-pension policy is compatible with this condition?

It proposes to open, in addition to the existing system of poor-relief, a new fund, amounting to many millions of pounds a year, and drawn from compulsory taxation for the purpose of subsidizing simple poverty; a fund to which it is to be rather creditable than otherwise to resort; a fund which is intended to deal, not with exceptional calamity, but with that which springs from the mere efflux of time, and which is, beyond all others, the most normal and most easily foreseen. It proposes to teach the whole working population to look to the State, and not to themselves, for the provision for their old age and for the old age of those who might be dependent on them, and thus to destroy the most powerful of all motives to thrift—the very mainspring of productive and self-sacrificing industry. And it proposes to do this at a time when wages are higher than they have ever been before; when voluntary societies for securing the poor from want are flourishing and increasing as they have never done before; when the rapid decline of pauperism is one of the most marked and most universally recognized signs of national improvement. Can it be seriously believed that the addition of many millions a year to the State funds directly employed in the relief of

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poverty will, in the long run, tend to diminish pauperism or to encourage self-reliance and thrift?

Mr. Chamberlain and the other more considerable advocates of old-age pensions clearly see that if such pensions are to be of real value they must discriminate between the deserving and the undeserving; and they believe that they may have the effect of stimulating, instead of weakening, thrift. For this purpose several schemes have been devised.

The most popular Continental method of achieving this end is by a law obliging the working man in early life to insure against old age, and by supplementing the income derived from this insurance by a State subsidy. In Germany, where this system is actually carried out, the old-age pension is derived from three sources; viz., compulsory insurance by the workers, compulsory contribution by the employer, and a State subsidy. Compulsory insurance found for many years a powerful English advocate in Canon Blackley; and it has been recommended by a recent inquiry in Holland, which, however, refused to propose any system of old-age pensions. According to the best accounts, the German system has been far from successful either economically or politically; and it has certainly not prevented Socialism from becoming one of the great dangers of the State. Into this question, however, it is needless to enter, as it is now universally admitted in England that compulsory insurance for old age is an impossibility; for it would certainly be repudiated by the working classes.

A large group of proposals are to the effect that old-age pensions should be granted to all poor persons over the age of 65 whose total income is less than 10 shillings a week, provided that a certain portion of that income consists of a fixed annuity acquired by their own industry and thrift. It is urged that in most of the great branches of industry a deserving man in his earlier and stronger years could easily earn such an annuity; and it is suggested that the State should double it, or add to it sufficient to make it up to 10 shillings a week, or supplement it by a fixed grant of 2 shillings 6 pence, or 5 shillings, or even 7 shillings a week.

The objections to such schemes are very serious. It is obvious that if they encourage a workman to save up to the amount required to secure a pension, they would have a directly opposite effect as soon as that amount had been attained. The first result of any addition to his income would then be to disqualify him for a pen-

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sion. It is also obvious that the pensioner of 65 would have a strong inducement to abstain from the work he could easily do, and that if he continued to do it he would compete on exceptionally favorable terms with the workman who, though he had passed the prime of life, was not yet entitled to a pension, restricting his means of employment and beating down his wages. Many of the most necessitous and deserving poor would also be left unrelieved.

Although it is true that in the more flourishing trades men could easily in early life save out of their wages a sufficient sum to acquire this annuity, there are large fields of industry in which such a saving would be almost or absolutely impossible. We have had melancholy evidence of how utterly insufficient most forms of women's wages are to provide the needed margin. The same thing is true of the agricultural laborer in the more depressed districts in England and in large tracts of Ireland and Scotland. Even in the more remunerative employments innumerable special circumstances would prevent a thrifty and deserving man from obtaining this annuity. Certainly no one is more deserving of compassion and State aid than the widow and young orphans of a working man; but the scheme we are considering would not only not help them, but would most seriously injure them. It is a direct incentive to the workman to sink his savings in an annuity which would terminate with his own life.

The whole policy, indeed, of attempting to turn all working-class savings into this one channel is a false one; and it has been shown that no kind of saving is in fact less popular among workingmen than the purchase of a deferred annuity. I may here be allowed to quote a few lines from my own report:

"In the infinitely various conditions of a workingman's life thrift will take many forms, and an attempt to prescribe a single form is eminently injudicious. The whole life-plan of a farmer whose farm will remain with him to the end will be different from that of an artisan or a domestic servant whose power of earning a livelihood depends entirely upon his physical strength. The former will probably find it most profitable to expend his savings on the improvement of his farm. Where the system of peasant proprietorship prevails most agricultural thrift is directed to the purchase and enlargement of farms. In Ireland it is largely directed to the purchase of tenant right, or to enabling the younger members of the family to emigrate.

"Nor is it true that even the artisan will find the purchase of an annuity the best thing to be aimed at. To buy a house or some furniture; to start a small business; to expend his savings in tiding over periods of slack or failing work; to avail himself of the advantage which some fluctuation in the market gives to the man who can transport himself promptly to a new locality or a new business is often far more to his advan-

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tage. Above all, money expended in settling his family is often his best policy as well as the course which is most beneficial to the community. At present a large proportion of working men look forward to their children to help them in their old age, and make it a main object of their lives to place them in a position to do so. It does not seem to me a wise thing for the State either to emancipate children from this duty or to induce every married working man to sink his savings in an annuity which will end with his life and from which his widow and children can derive no benefit. It is certainly not for the advantage of the country that in selecting between alternative ways of providing for old age he should be induced to choose that which throws the greatest burden on the State. With the vast increase of population, with the great fluctuations of modern industry, and with the rapid development of the colonies, it is extremely desirable both in the interest of the working men and of the State that they should be induced to transfer themselves from congested towns and from exhausted industries to new fields. A general pension system would certainly contribute most powerfully to prevent them from doing so."

It has been proposed by others that the pension fund should be placed in the hands of Friendly or Benefit Societies, and that they should be intrusted with its administration, or that subscription to such societies for a certain number of years should be taken by the State as the thrift test. On the first proposal it is sufficient to say, that these great voluntary societies are themselves opposed to it; for, if they were directly subsidized by the State, they would be obliged to submit to a State control of their management and their finances, which they do not desire. It is observed that only a very small proportion of the subscribers to these societies ever find it necessary to come upon the poor-rates; and if a system of old-age pensions were confined to these limits, it would act in the most unequal manner. Their members are drawn in a far larger proportion from the lucrative and flourishing trades than from those which are struggling and underpaid. Few women belong to them. In Ireland, which is the poorest part of the Empire, Friendly Societies scarcely exist; and the same thing is true of large districts in Wales and Scotland. The main result of such proposals would be to concentrate the new State fund for the relief of poverty on the richest parts of the Empire, and on the trades that need it the least.

The extreme difficulty of finding any efficient test of thrift is very evident; and those proposed by a large number of the advocates of old-age pensions are so easy as to be almost worthless. Some consider it sufficient that a man has for a certain number of years not been in receipt of poor-law relief, except medical relief or relief granted under "exceptional circumstances." Others would accept the mere fact that a man has lived to be 65, as the drunken and dis-

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reputable workman seldom lives so long. A large number of resolutions have condemned Mr. Chaplin's report on the grounds that old-age pensions ought not to be confined to the "deserving" poor; that they ought to begin at an earlier age than 65; that they ought to be administered by a body totally unconnected with the poor-law, so as to carry with them no taint of pauperism or eleemosynary relief. They ought, it is said, to be universal; to be looked on as a matter of strict right; to be considered as of the same nature as the pension given to the soldier or the civil servant.

It is obvious that all this may carry us very far. It is estimated that some of the most popular proposals would involve an annual expenditure of considerably more than twenty millions of pounds—making allowance for the saving that might be effected in the ordinary poor-law relief, but not counting the cost of administration. And this expenditure would be a growing one; and once accepted it could hardly be withdrawn. The vast addition to the national debt that might follow a great European war or the great shrinkage of the national income that might easily follow some revolution in trade or manufacture might render the burden of taxation incomparably more serious than at present; but once the great mass of the population had learned to regard State support in old age as their normal prospect and their inalienable right, it would be impossible, without producing a social revolution, to recede. All the advantages gained by generations of economical administration of the national finance would be nullified; while the certain result of this crushing addition to taxation would be to weaken incalculably the spirit of thrift, providence, and self-reliance, and at the same time to lower wages, by removing one of the great considerations by which they are regulated. And this reduction of wages would fall not only on the recipient of the pension, but also on multitudes who would never live to attain it. Nothing can be more certain than that a general system of pensions attached to the labor of the wage-earner must lower wages, at least among all those who are approaching the pension age; while it would prevent or retard their natural increase over a far wider area.

It would also most certainly bring with it the gravest danger of corruption. It would not be easy to secure the pure and impartial administration of these vast funds; but the political dangers would be much more serious. It is proposed that the pension system should be first introduced on a small scale, but gradually ex-

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tended till it included all the aged poor, or at least all who were deserving. Such a question would infallibly pass into the competitions of party warfare. It would become in most constituencies one of the most prominent of electioneering tests. Rival candidates would be competing for the votes of a wage-earning electorate who had a direct pecuniary interest in increasing or extending pensions and in relaxing the conditions on which they are given. Can it be doubted that in many cases their first object would be to outbid one another, and that national and party politics would soon be forced into a demoralizing race of extravagance?

I have already, I fear, somewhat exceeded the limits that were assigned to me, and I must draw this article to a close; but I cannot conclude without protesting against the supposition that those who think with me are indifferent to the great evil of old-age destitution and propose nothing for its relief. The committees which have most clearly pointed out the dangers of old-age pensions have also urged, that within the lines of our present poor-law system it is quite possible to do much, by an improved classification, to distinguish among the recipients of poor-law relief between the respectable and the worthless. Much has already been done, and in the most important unions the guardians have introduced a large amount of classification by merit. As I have already said, the immense majority of the respectable aged poor are now relieved only in their own homes or in comfortable infirmaries. The severe test of absolute destitution has in practice been greatly relaxed; there is a legal provision preventing those who are receiving help from Friendly Societies from being disqualified for relief; husbands and wives are no longer separated in the workhouse; and in some unions of which we had evidence much more has been done. This, however, depends too much on the will of particular Boards of Guardians, and there are in consequence great inequalities of treatment. The condition of the deserving poor may be greatly improved by relaxation in points of hours, discipline, and visitors, and by workhouse arrangements securing more universally that paupers who have lived respectable lives should not be obliged to mix with the drunken, the disreputable, and the hopelessly idle. And, though extensions of outdoor relief should be carefully watched, and entail great dangers, yet under wise and strict administration something more may be done in this direction.

But all this should be regarded as essentially poor-law relief, and not as the recognition of a claim of right for services supposed to

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have been rendered to the community. No form of State Socialism is more dangerous than the doctrine which has been countenanced by Prince Bismarck, and which is making many disciples in England: namely, that an industrious man, who has pursued his course in life with perfect independence, made his own contracts, chosen his own work, and been paid for it by stipulated wages, is entitled, if he fails in obtaining a sufficiency for his old age, to be placed as a "soldier of industry" in the same category as State servants, and to receive like them, not on the ground of compassion, but of right, a State pension drawn from the taxation of the community. There is no real analogy between the relief that is very properly granted to such workmen in their destitution, and the pensions—largely of the nature of deferred pay—that are given by the State or by private employers, under the terms of distinct contracts, and for specific services duly rendered, to those who have entered into their employment and placed themselves under their control. W. H. LECKY.

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UNIVERSITY EXTENSION IN AGRICULTURE.

THE various schemes which universities and colleges have tried in recent years with a view to the wide diffusion of knowledge outside their own halls have attracted much public attention. But there are probably comparatively few persons who realize that there is a university extension movement along agricultural lines which, in its comprehensiveness and effectiveness, already surpasses any similar movement in other directions. Some important features of this agricultural movement have not usually been included under the term "university extension"; and yet these are, in many respects, the very things which might most properly be thus denominated. The neglect to call them by their right name may, however, explain, in part at least, the failure on the part of the public to estimate correctly the magnitude of existing university extension work in behalf of agriculture.

At the head of this movement in our country are: (1) the United States Department of Agriculture; and (2) the agricultural experiment stations, which are departments of universities and colleges—departments largely endowed by national grants of land and money. While the Department of Agriculture is not organized as a university or a college, it is, nevertheless, giving a considerable amount of instruction to persons who come to its laboratories for longer or shorter periods, and is carrying on scientific investigations which in variety, scope, and importance entitle it to rank with the best of our universities. Indeed, in its wide and free dissemination of information it easily surpasses them all. The annual output of publications of the Department has now reached 500 different documents, ranging all the way from very elementary leaflets to elaborate reports on subjects of the highest scientific importance. These documents are, for the most part, freely given to all applicants who show in any way that they will be benefited by them; and the distribution is so wide that, in the aggregate, nearly 7,000,000 copies were sent out last year. This does not include the Year-book of the Department—a bound volume of some 800 pages filled mainly with popular articles on live agricultural topics, profusely illustrated. The edition of the Year-book is 500,000 copies.

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The agricultural experiment stations are organized, with few exceptions, in connection with universities and colleges. They constitute research departments of these institutions, and confine their investigations to agricultural subjects. There are now fifty-six of these stations in the United States. At least one station is in operation in every State and Territory ; and there is one in Alaska as well as in Hawaii. The reports of their own investigations and of other related information which these stations publish annually fill over 400 different publications. They are distributed under franks to half a million addresses. Nowhere else in the world is there any university extension work which can at all compare with that which is carried on through the publications of the Department of Agriculture and the experiment stations. In variety of subjects treated, in the wideness and magnitude of its distribution of information, and in the substantial backing of scientific investigation and general accuracy of statement, it exceeds by far any university extension scheme yet devised.

Like all things human this work has its deficiencies, among which a certain element of lavishness would perhaps most readily attract attention. But when we consider the vastness of our agricultural regions and the variety and mass of our agricultural population, the provision thus made for keeping them informed regarding matters vitally affecting the progress of their art does not seem out of proportion to their requirements. It takes large editions to satisfy the legitimate demand for good reading matter of an agricultural population of 40,000,000 souls, scattered over 10,000,000 farms. And if only a portion of this population has as yet become alive to the importance of becoming acquainted with the fruits of scientific investigation along agricultural lines, so much the more reason, from a university extension standpoint, for engaging in the missionary enterprise of bringing this information, in alluring form, to the notice of these people.

The fault, then, is not in the magnificence of the plan of university extension work which the Department and the stations are attempting to carry on, but in the details of its execution. As friends of university extension we may rejoice in the liberality of National and State governments which make so great a work possible ; and we may hope that its marked success will lead to a greater perfection of the methods of distributing information to our farmers through printed documents, so that all who desire to have them may get them, and all who need them may have them brought to their attention in a way to induce them to take and profit by these free gifts of the people to them-

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selves. But this is not the whole story of university extension in agriculture.

Under the direction of the agricultural experiment stations thousands of simple coöperative experiments in which farmers take part are now annually carried on in different parts of the country. They consist principally in the growing of different kinds of crops, such as wheat, grasses, sugar beets, vegetables, and fruits, or in the testing of different kinds of fertilizers as applied to the soils and crops in different localities. These experiments are performed in accordance with plans furnished by the experiment stations; and when they are conducted in the most effective way the coöperating farmers are visited, from time to time, by the officers in immediate charge of the experiments. Usually the experiment stations furnish the seeds, fertilizers, or other materials to be used in the experiments, while the farmers supply the land and the labor.

When such experiments are wisely planned and thoroughly executed they often give results of considerable value, especially as showing how the investigations of the experiment stations may be most successfully applied to farm practice. In the early days of the experiment stations in this country, for example, much was learned regarding the fertilizer requirements of farm lands in the Eastern States, by a large series of coöperative experiments. More recently it has been determined, through such experiments, in what parts of the country beets having a sufficiently high sugar content to be used in the manufacture of sugar are likely to be profitably grown. In the sugar-beet experiments thousands of farmers coöperated, and all the States and Territories were included in the work.

But the chief value of coöperative experiments lies in their educational effect. They bring the advantages of the agricultural colleges and experiment stations home to many farmers who would otherwise know little or nothing of them. They convince many doubting farmers that, after all, science may be able to teach some interesting and important lessons which will be of practical benefit to agriculture. The farms on which the experimental plats are located become centres of light and inspiration to the farming community around them. The experiments suggest that possibly it may be better to deviate from the old routine, that there may be new crops and new methods which it would be well for the farmer to know about and perhaps to introduce. They stir up much discussion as to the advantages or disadvantages of the results published by the experiment stations, and take many

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farmers on excursions of thought, if not of action, out into the new world of progress in agricultural science and practice, about which they very likely had known nothing prior to the advent of actual experiments in their midst. They help to enlist a considerable body of the more intelligent and progressive farmers more firmly on the side of the men and institutions laboring to extend agricultural education and research. In these and other ways they supplement the publications of the Department and the experiment stations in the dissemination of useful knowledge on agricultural subjects, and make those publications more intelligible and interesting to farmer readers. At present, the chief difficulty which the experiment stations are obliged to overcome, before they can extend experiments of this description, is the lack of funds which may be used in conducting them properly and supervising them thoroughly. The farmers are learning to be good critics of such work ; and it is a harder task each year to satisfy their proper demand for experiments that will more exactly meet their practical requirements.

During the past year there have been held in different parts of the country at least 2,000 farmers' institutes, which were attended by audiences aggregating half a million farmers. These institutes are organized partly under the direct supervision of the agricultural colleges and experiment stations ; but more usually they are managed by the State Boards and Commissioners of Agriculture. Whatever may be the character of their general management, the officers of the agricultural colleges and experiment stations are very largely employed to give instruction in them.

The institutes have been well called the adult farmers' school. Here they may learn from scientists and investigators the principles that underlie the art of agriculture, and from successful farmers the best methods of applying those principles. Through the institutes the views of both farmers and investigators are broadened, and sympathetic relations are established by the close social contact which marks the institute in its most perfect form. The programmes are planned to promote the interchange of ideas ; a free and full discussion being sought upon topics introduced in a paper by some specialist. Speakers upon scientific subjects and successful farmers who have attained more than local reputations are usually selected as institute workers by those who have charge of the system of institutes for the State ; or they may be chosen by the local authorities from lists of such workers prepared by the central bureau. The local committee invites successful

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farmers of the neighboring districts to explain their methods, and provides music as well as literary or other general exercises. All persons in attendance, the humblest as well as the most prominent, are urged to ask questions upon points suggested in the addresses and to present related facts gained from personal experience. A "question box" is frequently made use of; answers being given by the conductor of the institute or by someone specially fitted to supply the desired information.

Farmers' institutes are now regularly held in at least thirty States. In those States where they have reached their highest development their importance as educational institutions is very great. This is indicated by the number of institutes annually conducted. In New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio hundreds of them are held each year; in Massachusetts there are now 125, with an attendance of about 13,000 persons; in Indiana about 100, with an attendance of over 25,000; in Minnesota 50, with an attendance ranging from 300 to 1,000; in Wisconsin 120, with an attendance of over 50,000. In Michigan institutes are held in nearly every county, and the total attendance is reported to reach 120,000. Sixty thousand copies of the annual bulletin of the Wisconsin institutes, in which the best addresses are grouped together to make a book of over 300 pages, are annually distributed. A copy of this book is put into every school library in the State.

One phase of the development of farmers' institutes in this country is especially interesting. When the institutes were first organized the farmers seemed to prefer to listen to addresses from successful local farmers; but of late there has been an ever-increasing demand for experts who can give the farmers definite information based on wide practical experience or thorough experimental investigations. This is believed to indicate that a large body of our more intelligent farmers are becoming deeply impressed by the studies which are being made along practical and scientific lines related to agriculture.

Another feature of university extension in agriculture is the home reading course for farmers. A very interesting movement in this direction was inaugurated by the State College of Pennsylvania in 1892. A reading course for farmers was prepared on the plan of the well-known Chautauqua courses in other subjects, and was at first known as "The Chautauqua Course of Home Reading in Agriculture." This included a "carefully prepared course of reading designed to cover the most important branches of agricultural science and practice, personal advice and assistance through correspondence, and examinations

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upon the subjects read, with certificates and diplomas for those attaining certain grades of excellence." Owing to the success attending the beginnings of this enterprise the scheme has since undergone considerable development. It has been found desirable not merely to prescribe certain books to be read, but to send out carefully prepared lessons with questions to be answered by the student. The courses have been divided so as to constitute separate courses in different subjects, such as plant production, animal husbandry, dairying, horticulture, and home economics. In the present year lessons on seventeen different subjects are offered. Several thousand students have been enrolled in these courses.

The College of Agriculture of Cornell University has also made a great success of home reading courses for farmers. The details of this work are in the hands of an experienced farmer, who is not a college-bred man, but who works under the direction of college officers. "The gist of the New York plan is to give the farmer a short specially-prepared lesson and then to quiz him on it." The plan is based upon the idea that help is especially needed by the farmer who cannot, or will not, read, and that if he can be made to have an interest in "simple, short, and easily digested" lessons, he will be very likely to take up more serious reading later. Other essential features of this plan are the "active organization of reading clubs" and the sending of special inspectors and lecturers to these clubs. In the winter of 1898–99 lessons on five topics were used, and 8,605 readers, of whom over 8,000 resided in New York State, were enrolled. The agricultural colleges in a number of other States have undertaken to organize and manage farmers' reading courses.

The College of Agriculture of Cornell University has also been very successful in the promotion of another form of university extension, which is likely to prove of very great benefit to the common schools of this country. This is an attempt to introduce nature study into the rural schools. The work has been organized under Prof. L. H. Bailey, and has been carried on partly by the regular professors and instructors of the college of agriculture and partly by the corps of station officers. This enterprise is founded upon the idea that one of the fundamental faults in our agricultural condition is, that no attempt has been made to instruct children in matters which will awaken an interest in country life, and that the proper place to correct this evil is in the rural schools. After a careful survey of the rural schools in New York State, it was determined that the best way in which to reach

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the pupils and teachers was "by short and sharp observations upon plants, insects, and other natural objects, and not by means of definite lectures of stated lengths."

In carrying out these ideas leaflets on different subjects have been prepared for the use of teachers, and widely distributed. These leaflets show how vital this nature study may be made to future agriculture, although it is not in itself the teaching of agriculture. In one leaflet the teacher is instructed to have the children plant squash-seeds, dig some of them up at intervals to learn how seeds germinate, and watch what happens to the little plants as they push their way up through the soil and unfold their stems and leaves in the air. The story of a corn-plant's growth from seed to blade and ear and full corn in the ear is told and illustrated. The life history of the humble, but useful, toad is described in the hope "that the feeling of repugnance and dislike, and the consequent cruelty to toads, will disappear when the children know something about their wonderful changes in form, structure, and habits, and how harmless and helpful they are." Four apple-twigs form the subject of some other lessons; and it is wonderful how much a child can learn from such simple materials about the way trees grow. At another time the children are encouraged to plant little gardens and carefully watch some of the things that grow in them. Or they study some insect which preys upon fruit, or make collections of the insects about their homes, or watch the latter to see whether they are doing things good or bad for the farmer.

The officers in charge of this work visit schools, teachers' institutes, and farmers' meetings, to explain the plan of instruction and help along the work. During the past year instruction of this nature has been given to some 25,000 teachers. The movement has become so popular that it is difficult for the officers in charge of it to keep up with the demands made upon them. The leaflets are eagerly sought for by teachers in the city schools as well as those in country schools. Colleges in other States are taking up this work; and there is a widespread interest in it among school officers and teachers in all parts of the country. Without doubt, one of the greatest reforms needed in our rural schools is the introduction of teaching with regard to the facts and phenomena of nature. At last we seem to have found a practical way to overcome the conservatism of the school men and the farmers.

A. C. TRUE.

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WHAT THE CRUSHING OF MAHDIISM SIGNIFIES.

WITH the ebbing of the last breath of life of Khalifa Abdullah, on his prayer-rug, when his half-hearted army was crushed, near Jebel Gedir, in the closing days of last November, one of Britain's great missions in Africa, calling for years of toil and a prodigal expenditure of life and treasure, was brought to a triumphant conclusion. This snuffing out of the smouldering ember of Mahdiism marked an important stage in England's plan of empire in the Dark Continent; but, though an easy victory attended her conflict with a disorganized force of desert people north of the equator, the fact was being brought home that in her warfare upon a determined white foe, fighting for fireside and existence, in the south of the same continent, she had met a force sufficiently strong and courageous to cause a halt in her campaign of aggression until the time when superior resources of men and equipment must count.

In the gloom of the news from South Africa, the passing of Mahdiism in North Africa provoked in England but little rejoicing, although it possessed a potentiality of importance to every Briton breathing the prevalent air of imperialism and area-extension. With Mahdiism ended, an expanse of territory covering in length more than twenty-five degrees of latitude is brought under English rule. When the valorous Boers, whose offence seems to be the lack of a spirit of progress, are overthrown, as they are certain in the end to be, Great Britain's engineers can embark on their task of constructing the Nile Valley section of the railway that is to bisect a continent, with as much safety as if operating in home counties, while her master-administrators are setting her house in order in South Africa and arranging the geographical limits and scope of government of the great British South African Confederation, which, in the near future, may include Cape Colony, Natal, Bechuanaland, Rhodesia, the Orange Free State, the Transvaal, and possibly Mozambique.

Other things besides the extermination of Mahdiism have recently occurred, making the Cape-to-Cairo project fairly easy of accomplishment. These include a clear right of way from the equatorial lakes

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to the Mediterranean, with a rail connection of a sort existing a greater part of the distance north of Khartum, approximately 1,300 miles. A peculiarity of Kitchener's progress into the Sudan was that railway-builders kept daily pace with his vanguard, and for hundreds of miles through the desert his column was in immediate rail communication with the base of supplies at Wady Halfa and with Cairo. Of course Kitchener held no brief for Cecil Rhodes; but there was certainly food for reflection in the soldier's reply to the telegram of congratulation after the fall of Omdurman, when he asked the South African man of affairs, "When are you coming up to Cairo?"

Railroads now run northward from Cape Town and Port Elizabeth about 1,400 miles, thereby calling for less than 3,000 miles of line to be made to connect the Khedival capital with the metropolis at the Cape. The self-evident understanding between Great Britain and Germany may be accepted to mean that the question of right of way across German East Africa is already happily arranged. Although nothing has been vouchsafed to the public, it is obvious that, long before the Emperor's visit to Windsor, many moves on the African checker-board had been agreed upon in principle, ranging from the ultimate proprietorship of Delagoa Bay, destined to be the chief entrepôt of this Confederation, to a division of every other vestige of Portuguese sovereignty on the continent. It is but reasonable to suppose that the right of way across German East Africa for Mr. Rhodes' railway was one of the first agreements arrived at. It is a project that cannot possibly pay pecuniarily, and the Germans are willing to have England foot the bill, trusting to luck to get a share of the benefits.

Conservative people have long regarded the Cape-to-Cairo scheme as chimerical, and treated its mouthful of words as an ambitious phrase coined by Rhodes to please the advocates of imperialism. But the dawning years of the new century are fairly certain to see the harbors of Alexandria and Cape Town the termini of this colossal line of rails, probably to be more potent as an upbuilder of British prestige in Africa than as an artery of profitable trade. Obviously, if Cecil Rhodes emerges from the Anglo-Boer war with shattered reputation, there may be delay before another man comes forward to father the scheme, which is no more fantastic than was the initial trans-continental project in the United States or the trans-Siberian railway in Russia.

With the killing of the Khalifa et Taashi, Mahdiism came to so

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inglorious an end that the Dark Continent will probably never again be the theatre of a career of such ingenious pretension as that originated more than a quarter of a century ago by Mohammed Ahmed, the self-styled Mahdi. The rise to power of this man, the enrolment of an enormous population under his banner, the proselytizing of a region of country perhaps half as large as the United States, the annihilation of invading armies, and the defiance of powerful nations unite in making the strangest story of imposture ever perpetrated in the name of religion. Had not the African sands been saturated with the blood of hundreds of thousands of human beings, and vast areas laid waste by the despotic rule of the Mahdi, governing by fire and sword, the story of Mahdiism would contain the elements of romance; in reality it is a tragedy of as stupendous proportions as any revealed in the world's history.

Col. Wingate's destruction of Khalifa Abdullah, in the latter part of November, was accepted by the world as an item of news, rather than as an event of importance; for the deathblow to Mahdiism was struck by Kitchener at Omdurman in September of 1898. Since that time, Abdullah, dethroned, suspected of baseless claims to divine pretensions, forsaken by a greater part of his followers, had been but little more than a derelict of the desert. There may have been a fitness of things that he received his death summons but a hundred miles or more south of El Obeid, the Mahdi's first capital, and in the immediate locality where, in 1881, the Mahdi's influence became apparent. This region, on the west bank of the White Nile, not far north of the confluence of the Bahr el Ghazal, and 350 miles south of Khartum, witnessed the demise as well as the birth of Mahdiism.

Less than 200 miles away from the Jebel (meaning hill) Gedir is the islet of Abba, on which Mohammed Ahmed was reared. He was born in Dongola, where his father and brothers were boat-builders in a small way; but it was from the island of Abba that he set forth on his religious career. It is claimed that he possessed a quiet yet commanding presence, and a marvellous intensity of purpose. His education in the tenets and teachings of the Koran was superior to that of any of the "holy men" of the region. Admiring supporters quickly surrounded him; for his remarkable persuasiveness was daily employed in pointing out to the Sudanese their grievances against the heartless taskmasters of the Khedival government. Their disapproval of the methods of the tax-collectors and of the

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rumored European interference in Egypt, made them willing converts to the argument of this youth, with his dangerous gift of plausible oratory, leading them to believe that if they did not resist the threatened invasion from the north they would surely become the slaves of infidels. This appeal was instantly effective.

It was not long before the Mahdi despatched letters and proclamations in every direction, announcing his divine mission and recording his military achievements. He summoned all natives of the Sudan to join him in a Jehad, or holy war, purposely pandering to their fanaticism and greed by promising them four-fifths of the booty coming from the war, and teaching his simple followers that all who might fall in battle would be rewarded by a blissful existence in Paradise. The young man was aware of the facility with which the mind of the untutored Mussulman might be inflamed to fanaticism, and he employed this knowledge so well that it became an offence punishable by death even to question his claim to be God's representative on earth, commissioned to deliver his people from the danger of Christian incursion, to gain for the faithful the whole earth, and to set up the reign of righteousness in it. There was a Mohammedan tradition that the true Mahdi would appear in the thirteenth hundred year of the Hegira—1883 according to our calendar—and the young native of Dongola was everywhere accepted as this Messiah. The influence of the new Prophet spread through the land. Emissaries were despatched to tribes in the Red Sea district and to the borders of Abyssinia, southward nearly to the equatorial lakes, and northward even to the outposts of the Egyptian garrisons. Millions literally flocked to the standard of the new leader.

Fighting with a dash born of religious frenzy, and fearlessly courting death, these adherents annihilated, near El Obeid, in 1883, an army of 10,000 Egyptians, led by Hicks Pasha, the Englishman. A day prior to this human battue the Khedival forces were defeated near Suakim, and a few months later Gen. Graham's troops were repulsed at El Teb. Other victories for the Mahdi's horde preceded his taking of Khartum in 1885, when noble Gordon, Egypt's Governor-General of the Sudan, lost his life.

This last triumph made Khartum, or the new settlement of Omdurman, across the Nile, the headquarters of the Mahdi, and there he located what he called his government. He established a "mint," where coins were made, ostensibly of silver, but having a preponderating portion of copper; a bureau where postage stamps were

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printed; and a manufactory for gunpowder and ammunition. In his arsenals were 25,000 serviceable Remington rifles, captured from Egyptian troops. Mohammed Ahmed surrounded himself with emirs and with functionaries representing every creed and tribe of the vast territory subject then to his veriest whim. Osman Digna, chief of the Hadendowa tribe on the coast of the Red Sea, his ablest general, was given an importance second only to that of the Mahdi. A Khalifa was named as chief of each of the three great tribes of the Sudan, and assigned to office in the capital. Although springing from the inferior and cattle-raising Baggara tribe in Kordofan, Abdullah et Taashi was the favorite. He had pledged his lifelong loyalty at Abba, in the days when Mohammed Ahmed had but a small following.

Mohammed Ahmed had himself now grown to believe that he was God-sent, it is claimed, and a convincing proof of the genuineness of this assumption was the completeness of his triumphs as a warrior, the stamping out of every trace of Egyptian rule in the southern provinces, and the number of Christian prisoners held captive in Omdurman. In 1885 the Mahdi even sent an embassy of four emirs to Cairo with letters to the Khedive, the Sultan of Turkey, and the Queen of England, appealing to them to cease their encroachments upon his territory and prerogative, and urging them in the name of God and his Prophet to accept him as the ruler of the universe. The Khedive was commanded, in florid language, to visit Omdurman at once, and to make his submission, in order to preserve his country from certain conquest.

The Mahdi's life of absolutism, however, and his pretended emulation of the Prophet, had continued but a few months at Omdurman when he succumbed to fever, after a period of selfish indulgences, for he had become a sensualist and voluptuary. When he died he was but little more than thirty-seven. On his death-bed he named Abdullah, the Baggara, as his successor, commanding the faithful by order of the Prophet to accept him as their Khalifa. The common Arabs and blacks of the Sudan generally believed that the mantle of the Mahdi had fallen upon Abdullah, who consequently had no trouble in bringing the rival Khalifas into subjection. On assuming command, Abdullah pushed steadily northward, until, in 1895, his warriors had overrun the Nile Valley as far down as Berber. A strong Egyptian post had been established there; but the Khalifa built a fortified camp at Metammah, about half way between Berber

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and Khartum, from which base he raided the country to the very gates of Berber and Wady Halfa. Educated Sudanese, however, perceived the flaw in Mahdiism when Mohammed Ahmed died, and from that time to the day of Abdullah's defeat at Omdurman, the cause gradually lost force. Tremendous defections resulted from the ranks of those believing that Abdullah possessed divine authority.

From the day the Khalifa fled from Omdurman he was but little more than a slave-raider and an armed robber. He laid heavy tribute upon stores of grain, ivory, and gum in the track of his wanderings. His personal display of courage under great stress was the only supporting element to the cause of Mahdiism since the disaster at Omdurman. It is stated that the Khalifa lost no time in inventing a story explaining Kitchener's victory, asserting it was a chastisement from heaven intended to purge the Mahdi forces of waverers as a prelude to lasting triumphs for them.

When discovered near Jebel Gedir, Abdullah, with his soldiers and the emirs' body-guard, made a gallant stand. Among the emirs killed were the Khalifa's two brothers and a son of the Mahdi. Osman Digna left immediately after the battle began, and escaped to the hills. All the people of the Khalifa not killed surrendered to Col. Wingate. After the engagement, Abdullah and his chief emirs were found prostrate on their sheepskin prayer-rugs riddled with bullets, showing that they had died in the same fanatical belief in their creed that had ruled their lives; their religion had taught them, when believing their end was near, to face death stoically.

Warfare thus ended, the resourceful Sudan may immediately be declared open to trade and travel, a result bringing substantial benefit to the treasury of the Egyptian government, and opening to private enterprise extensive fields of production. Khartum, revivified, and under control of the efficient Sirdar of the Egyptian army and Governor-General of the Sudan, is destined within a few years to eclipse its old-time importance, both as the seat of government and as the centre of North African trade. There will be an inrush of small merchants and speculators, attracted by the golden prospect of taking up again the once prosperous commerce of the place in ante-Mahdi days. Of these forerunners, there will be more Greeks, Italians, and Syrians than English. Previous to the rise of the Mahdi, all the great powers, including the United States, maintained consular agencies at Khartum, and I am assured that the telegraph conveyed to

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that mart every European fluctuation in the market value of ivory, feathers, and Kordofan gums, as soon as it could be known in London or Amsterdam. "On to Khartum" already heads in bold-faced type the advertisements of tourist agencies in Cairo, London, and New York, to lure travellers with a fondness for novelty. By next year a full-fledged Cook's tourist hotel is promised for the rehabilitated capital at the junction of the Blue and White Niles.

The real importance of the pacification of the Sudan will be the restoration of thousands of square miles of bountiful soil to tillage, resulting in an addition to the world's product of foodstuffs, insignificant when measured with America's enormous output, but sufficient in volume to be taken into account by careful statisticians and economists. During the years when there was no outlet to the trade in the products of the provinces south of Khartum there has been presumably the average production, and the ivory and gum will now find their way to the markets of Europe. Egypt's crops of cotton and sugar are to be indirectly augmented by the return to agricultural vocations of the inhabitants of the northern Sudan. Resumption of systematic farming, after a decade of harrying and reprisal by the Khalifa's agents, may be slow, but it is certain. I am speaking of the people of Dongola rather than of natives further south. Dongola is rich in possibilities, and the tribes there take naturally to farming. As soon as the Anglo-Egyptian expedition drove the Khalifa's soldiers and sympathizers out of the province, three years ago, the Cairo authorities announced to the Dongolese a paternal policy of administration, including nominal taxation, ready markets for their crops, and loans of money with which to purchase seeds, animals, and irrigating machinery. The return of young men to the region has been noteworthy, and the people are delighted to be again under a responsible and humane government. Enormous areas will thus be opened up to the growing of breadstuffs, which, by boat and railway, will follow the Nile to Alexandria, and thence to Europe.

The real object of the great irrigating dam now under construction at Assuan being to provide and to regulate the supply of fertilizing water to Egyptian farms, the cultivation of cane and cotton there will practically monopolize the acreage a few years hence, to the exclusion of grain as a crop. The Nile Valley between Cairo and Assuan is as peculiarly adapted to the growing of cane as the Delta is adapted to the growing of cotton. These are both cash crops, being almost totally exported, and are grown with sufficient profit to have

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enriched the proprietors of the land, and to have brought the country in a very few years to a state of enviable solvency.

Sufficient foodstuffs are now grown in Egypt to feed the 9,500,000 people of that ancient land, and to justify the exportation of enough to maintain another million. With the fertile stretches of Nile lowlands between the second cataract and Berber restored to cultivation, I venture the prediction, that not only may the people of Nubia and Egypt be fed from them, but that sufficient wheat and corn will annually find their way abroad to sustain from 10,000,000 to 15,000,000 of Europeans, thereby reducing in some degree the dependence of Europe upon the grain fields of the United States. Like most features of British foreign policy, the pacification of the Sudan has an alluring financial background. The Dongola man with the hoe is going to enable his northern brother to devote his exclusive energies to the growing of "gilt-edged" crops. It is the toil of these Egyptian descendants of the Pharaohs that pays the interest on the largest bonded indebtedness possessed by any people in the world. With their excessive taxation and land-rents, there is little profit in raising so commonplace a crop as wheat.

To turn again to the theme of Mahdiism, the personality of Osman Digna calls for some description, as Osman was by all odds the ablest and craftiest fighter of northern Africa, and for a generation had been known as a great strategist, capable of planning campaigns effective in results and surprising and confusing to his Egyptian and British foes. Six or eight times have the Khedival authorities believed they had him at bay, only to discover that he had made his escape the instant he saw a prospect of an unsuccessful encounter. A hunted man, in the hills of Kordofan or Dar-Nuba, Osman Digna now is the last remaining personage of importance left to Mahdiism, and danger from him is practically impossible.

There has long been much speculation as to the origin of the doughty Osman, and wonder has been expressed as to the source of his military knowledge. There have been fantastic rumors in Cairo of his possessing an European education, even that his father was a distinguished French strategist who had wandered to Egypt and married a native. I have heard it stated that, as a lad, Osman was schooled at the Cairo Military College under an assumed name, where his craft at playing games of skill was invincible. But it is doubtful if Osman is anything more than what he claims to be, the descendant of a Turk who several generations ago married into the Hadendowa

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tribe, whose headquarters were at Suakim. Osman and his people were for many years interested in the slave trade, amassing a considerable fortune.

The story dealing with the three men chiefly responsible for the crushing of Mahdiism is quite as entertaining as that of the personages who created the cruel imposture and kept it alive more than a quarter of a century. To Gen. Lord Kitchener is due the credit of planning and executing the campaign ending the reign of anarchy in the Sudan, and avenging the death of Gordon. His initial step was the perfecting of a scheme for rehabilitating the Egyptian army; by systematic training he hoped to transform the peasant soldier from a spineless sloven to a man of courage. It took ten or twelve years to accomplish this result, but the fearless work of the Sirdar's army throughout the Sudan campaign, from the march upon Dongola, three years ago, to the ringing down of the curtain, proves how, under scientific tutelage, the nature of a people may be changed in less than a generation.

Kitchener's career is as luminous as that of any living subject of Queen Victoria. When he took service under the Khedive he held merely the rank of lieutenant or captain in the British army, with no more outward recommendation than any other Britisher seeking service under the Egyptian standard. While other Englishmen danced and dawdled in Cairo and Alexandria, Kitchener managed to be included in every force sent out to reconnoitre the southern provinces and Red Sea littoral, acquiring the dialect and customs of nearly every tribe of the desert. When Wolseley led the Nile expedition of 1883, young Kitchener amazed his superiors by his versatility and shrewdness. He was in the brunt of every engagement, between times operating as scout so adroitly as to deceive the Arabs themselves, whom he made himself resemble in looks and speech. Kitchener having carved his name on the scroll of great heroes, received a peerage and a parliamentary grant, after the manner of Wellington. His confrères of ten or twelve years ago are still dawdling away their time, and pointing to what "luck" can do for a man. As the avenger of Gordon, and as the soldier whose industry and genius have destroyed Mahdiism, and brought the Sudan back to civilization, Kitchener, still under fifty, has done enough to render his fame permanent.

It detracts no modicum from Kitchener's triumph to say that, in a measure Mahdiism killed itself. In time imposture becomes obvi-

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ous to the dullest intellect, and the seed of disbelief was sown with the Mahdi's demise, becoming fruitful as the years passed. With swarming millions of supporters in the days of Baker and Gordon, the Mahdi was practically invulnerable. Kitchener's campaign against the successor of the Mahdi was opportune. He could not have overthrown Mahdiism in 1888. In 1898 it was a task that others might have performed successfully. But in the mission no soldier could have been more thorough and businesslike than was Kitchener.

When England's power seemed to be imperilled in South Africa, it was a compliment to Kitchener to be summoned from Khartum and hastened to Natal. His genius as an organizer was so well known to Field Marshal Lord Roberts that he made his own acceptance of appointment conditional on having Kitchener as chief-of-staff. Certain as he is to do good work in the warfare with the Boers, Lord Kitchener's greatness will probably always be based on his Egyptian triumphs. A conspicuous success south of the equator, however, would naturally place him in line to be commander-in-chief of the British army.

Col. Sir Francis R. Wingate, whose good fortune it was to command the Egyptian force dealing the final blow to the moribund cause, near Jebel Gedir, has for years been one of Kitchener's aids. During the trying times of preparation he was at the head of the Intelligence Bureau of the Egyptian army. As with his chief, a capacity for hard work has been Wingate's leading characteristic. His knowledge of Mahdiism was not only practical but academic. His book, called "Mahdiism and the Egyptian Sudan," published in London in 1891, attracted much attention in military circles. As translator into English of the volumes written by Father Ohrwalder and Slatin Pasha, describing their long captivity at Omdurman, Wingate added greatly to his knowledge of the Khalifa, and was one of the first to arrive at the conclusion that Mahdiism had lost enough of its power to render it vulnerable. Wingate, trained as an engineer officer in England, recently had knighthood conferred upon him for his services in Egypt. At an early age—he is not more than forty-six—Wingate has made for himself an enviable name both as soldier and scholar. His selection as acting Sirdar of the Egyptian army, when Kitchener was hurried to South Africa, was perfectly natural.

The Austrian, Rudolf Slatin, who made his escape from the

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Khalifa after twelve years of captivity, reaching Cairo in 1895, was of course the spectacular figure in the subsequent warfare upon Mahdiism. Himself a soldier, he brought to Kitchener and Wingate the very information they needed concerning affairs in the Sudan and the state of the army and defences of Abdullah, acquired by observation in his capacity of attendant upon the head of Mahdiism. His printed story, entitled "Fire and Sword in the Sudan," convinced the War Office authorities in London, as his verbal reports had convinced the Sirdar and Wingate, that the time was propitious for launching an Anglo-Egyptian expedition against the Khalifa. The details of the part played by Slatin as a member of Kitchener's staff on the triumphal march, first to Dongola, and then to the city where he had so long been a slave, are well known. Slatin's story of fact is as romantic as the fictional adventures of Robinson Crusoe and Louis de Rougemont.

I am tempted to tell of the first formal dinner that Slatin attended in Cairo, two or three days after his return to civilization. On that day the Khedive had elevated him to a pashaship; as governor of Kordofan, Slatin had been simply a bey. The dinner was given by the Austrian Diplomatic Agent, Baron Heidler, in honor of his countryman, and the representatives of the foreign governments were invited. All arrived early, knowing that an interesting half-hour could be passed listening to the tale of the man so miraculously restored to liberty. Slatin, wearing a ready-made suit of broadcloth purchased that day in the Muski, was willing to talk; but his romantic narrative was interrupted by the announcement of dinner. He promised, however, to continue his story after the feast. The meal certainly was elaborate, especially in the estimation of one who for twelve years had subsisted on dates and grain, sometimes uncooked. The *hors-d'œuvre* appealed to the appetite of the principal guest. The soup, likewise, was palatable—and rich. During this course it was observed that, though Slatin pretended to be enjoying the repast, his face was becoming blanched. The fish was toothsome and accompanied by a wonderful sauce, likewise rich. In the midst of this course, Slatin, now pale as death, jumped from his seat and rushed from the room. The diplomatists finished their dinner without comment, and sat long over their cigars; but Slatin was not again visible that night. The gastronomic triumphs of Baron Heidler's *chef* were too much for the Mahdi's escaped prisoner.

FREDERIC COURTLAND PENFIELD.

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NEEDS OF SOUTHERN COLLEGES.

PUBLIC free schools for all the white population, supported by taxation and controlled by the States, did not exist in the South prior to the Secession War of 1861–65. The "peculiar institution" made, of course, the general education of the Negroes impossible.

It would, however, be a gross error, very unjust to the South, to conclude, from the absence of common schools similar to those in the Northern and Western States, that instruction of a high order for a portion of the white people was not liberally and expensively provided. Every State save Florida had a university, in the then generally accepted usage of that much abused word; and among the presidents and professors were such men as Rogers, Sylvester, Minor, Coleman, Hooper, Swain, Preston, Cooper, Thornwell, Lieber, Pierce, Woods, Manly, Barnard, Brumby, Tuomey, and others. Methodists, Presbyterians, and Baptists had in each State one or more colleges or institutes for young men and women. These, while denominational in origin, were not sectarian in the teaching. The Roman Catholics, also, had schools of merit in the larger cities. Private academies were found in towns and villages; and they were presided over by graduates from American or European colleges. These academies prepared young men for college; and some of them were not unworthy to be compared, in the value of their work, with the most noted schools in England and the North.

In Virginia, Georgia, and elsewhere were principals, some of whom might well be ranked in teaching power with Wayland, Hopkins, and other such educators. Willington Academy, in Abbeville County (District), South Carolina, had a history of many years under the administration of the Waddells; and when such men as Calhoun, McDuffie, Pettigru, Harper, Butler, Longstreet, Miles, and Boyce are mentioned as its products, it will be conceded that its record is as honorable as that of many colleges for scholarship, service to the country, and exalted character of the *alumni*. In this connection it may not be altogether irrelevant to say that the "Southern Review," published in Charleston in the twenties and thirties, was the peer of the historic

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"North American," under the leadership of Everett and Sparks, in the ability, learning, and scholarship of its articles. These facts come from the ante-diluvian days. The cataclysm of the war made sad havoc of colleges and schools, as well as of habits, traditions, opinions, institutions, and property.

In 1860 property in the United States was valued at $12,000,000,000, and of this the South, with one-third of the population, had 44 per cent. Ten years brought a startling change. The South was bankrupt. Poverty was hard to bear by those who had known better days. It does not bite the poor as it bites one who has known riches and afterwards fights destitution. In 1870 the South had $2,000,000,000 of assessed value; the North had $14,170,000,000. Massachusetts listed for taxes more than one-half as much property as the fourteen Southern States could show. In 1880 the South was poorer than in 1870 by $300,000,000.

The destruction wrought by the war was aggravated by an ignorant and alien people securing control of the State governments. The Negroes, intoxicated by freedom, lent themselves as ready instruments to the designs of corrupt men. Such a riot of folly and extravagance as took place during this *triste noche* of misrule and debauchery never had a parallel. In eight years the wealth of New Orleans fell from $146,000,000 to $88,000,000. In 1860 the taxable values in South Carolina were $490,000,000; in 1871, $184,000,000; while the taxes had increased from $400,000 to $2,000,000, and the debt of the State, from $5,407,306 to $18,515,033. These millions represented nothing but profligate expenditures and gigantic stealings. The aggregate debts and liabilities for eleven States were increased from $87,000,000, at the close of the war, to $380,000,000, at the close of the period of Reconstruction.

After Appomattox came the duty of rehabilitation, of placing these States in alignment with others in the work of republican civilization. Despite losses and poverty, making a return of prosperity for many years impossible, the Southern States, painfully and heroically, with unparalleled sacrifice, betook themselves to the task of providing free and universal education. The statutes show how completely this self-imposed duty has been discharged. In 1870–71 the expenditures for public schools for both races in sixteen Southern States and the District of Columbia were $10,385,464, and in 1897–98, $31,217,479. The total expenditures for public schools from 1870 to 1898 were $546,630,246 (over $100,000,000 of which was for education of the Ne-

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groes); and this burden, onerous and oppressive, fell in a very large measure upon the white people. In the States of Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, and Louisiana the last assessed valuation of property was, of the white people, $1,234,704,148, and of the Negroes, $52,759,449.

As the years have gone on, the South, despite misunderstandings and obstacles and wrongs, has slowly emerged into healthier surroundings, and, but for one black, impenetrable cloud on her pathway, would soon rejoice in her ancient glory. Public schools have been incorporated into the organic law of every Southern State. The work, like everything finite, has not been satisfactory, for society is never capable of sudden and absolute change. Cruelly and persistently the Federal Government refused to aid in the education of the Negro, but voted profusely for the Indians and for the new acquisitions. The Ship Subsidy Bill, to be pressed in the present Congress, asks $9,000,000 a year for thirty years, three times as much as the abused "Blair Bill" asked for the removal and prevention of national illiteracy. "Slavery," said Mr. Winthrop, "is but half abolished, emancipation is but half completed, while millions of freemen, with votes in their hands, are left without education."

The educational work of the Southern States, reaching *all* the people, has crippled what might have been done for the education of white youth in public schools, colleges, and universities. The educational needs of the South are not to be met completely by the establishment of schools for the masses. The public free school is the vital, paramount, continuing need of our popular governments; but this fact does not imply that higher institutions should be neglected. To prove their utility and indispensableness no argument is necessary. A people must have its own literature, thought, leadership. Its own inspirations and aspirations must be evoked and voiced for the greater fulness and significance of life. No community can safely stand outside the large movements of history, philosophy, and science. The colleges of the South have been handicapped by inadequate means; and they need new departments, better equipped for learning and research, better adapted to modern demands, more inviting and sufficient for the eager multitudes pathetically seeking admission. In view of what colleges and universities, in the United States and in other countries, have done, in giving men distinguished in art, literature, science, philosophy, affairs of State, we may see how the scholar lifts the community above the gross and purely material, moulds thought,

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exalts the ideal, and gives to civilization a nobler purpose and achievement.

A few weeks ago Mr. Chamberlain said, in the House of Commons, that Great Britain must remain a paramount power in South Africa. Mr. Felix Adler has since said: "The predominant race element should undoubtedly direct the affairs of the country, and a minority race should not try to be unduly conspicuous." It may be assumed that the white race, in the future of our history, will be, and should be, the dominant race. This supremacy, instead of meaning distress and neglect for the Negroes, means the only method by which their permanent and wise advancement is to be accomplished.

The advance of the race along the lines of a better civilization is wrapped up in the mental and moral uplift of the Caucasian. Historians deplore the disabilities imposed upon the Irish of the middle classes by their deficiencies in higher education as a calamity nearly as serious as the famine of 1847. It needs no very intimate knowledge of Southern society to discover what part of the population is least tolerant of the Negro—his presence, his industrial competition, his legal equality. Two races, living in the same neighborhood, diverse in a hundred characteristics, having recently sustained an abruptly terminated relation of master and slave, now in close and constant economical relations of employment and competition, have a tendency almost irresistible toward alienation, distrust, and hatred. If the universities and colleges in the South, for the benefit of the white people of both sexes, are to remain unable to meet the demands upon them, no seer can foretell the woes to the inferior race, to all the people, to the whole country.

Some statistics collated by the Bureau of Education throw light on this discussion. In the North, in 1896, exclusive of the western division of States and Territories, with a population of 44,347,941, there were 272 institutions for the higher education of both sexes, with 59,053 students; and in the South, with a population of 22,414,200, there were 153 such institutions, with 19,130 students. The North, as above defined, had 328 fellowships and 3,931 scholarships; the South had 58 fellowships and 1,204 scholarships. The value of the property of these institutions, grounds, and buildings, in the North, was $86,949,414, and of productive funds, $91,047,064; in the South, the value of school property was $24,263,085, and of productive funds, $16,163,264. The amount of annual income from all sources was, in the North, $14,541,547; in the South, $3,106,284.

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An Educational Conference at Capon Springs, in June last, felt constrained to declare that the education of the white race in the South was an imperative need, and that the colleges and universities of the South had a strong claim upon a generous share of that stream of private wealth in the United States enriching and vitalizing the higher education of the North and West. The solution of the ever-recurring and irrepressible Negro problem, industrial, social, educational, civil, political, moral, religious, outweighing in magnitude and importance all other questions, local and national, is largely dependent on the wise and intelligent dominancy of the white race. The welfare of the Negro is contingent upon the general and higher education of the white man, is, indeed, impossible without improved opportunities for the education of the whites.

The enlargement and endowment of Southern colleges, especially in scientific and technological departments, should appeal successfully to the liberality and patriotism of the whole country. The millions, which have been wisely and beneficently given, have been devoted largely to schools and colleges in the North and West, and to building up schools for Negroes in the South. Some colored schools have been so liberally aided that they have a larger annual income and pay out for ordinary expenses more than any Southern white university, and more than can be used, without unwise indebtedness, by four or five colleges. Gifts made to embarrassed and meritorious institutions in the South, which have heroically struggled to keep alive and to meet pressing wants, would add immensely to the intellectual and industrial resources of the whole country, and contribute in no small degree to the settlement of questions which now tax the capabilities of philanthropists and statesmen.

J. L. M. CURRY.

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REFORM IN CHINA.

On the part of Western nations there is a general demand that China shall reform or at once cease to exist as an independent government. But these nations have hardly considered what the reforms ought to be, how and by whom carried out, or what difficulties stand in the way of immediate and successful execution.

The very antiquity of China, reaching back far beyond the beginnings of any of the nations of Europe or America, and, even in those early days, possessing a remarkable civilization, with well-formed systems of learning, ethics, religion, and politics, induces the educated Chinaman of to-day to be not only conservative, but slow to accept theories from abroad. The fact that the present ruling dynasty is regarded by the Chinese as foreign, though equally representative of the Mongolian race of the whole Empire, leads the Manchu officials and the Imperial family to shrink from innovations as either unpalatable to Chinese sensibilities or detrimental to the permanence of their own supremacy. If anything is done to alter long-established customs, the vast population of the Empire—with the division of power between the central government at Peking and of the provinces, which are autonomous—manifests a fear of revolution, internal commotion, and general discontent. The aggressiveness of outside nations, amounting even to insolence, burdening the already perplexed rulers of China with conflicting threats and bewildering complications, arouses suspicion of the foreigner and antipathy to foreign ideas; and methods of reform other than native are viewed as the designs of an enemy. Is it any wonder, then, that China is slow to reform? Do the critics of China appreciate the magnitude of the task, which, with academic precision, they mark out?

In 1898 reform in China was focussed in the efforts of the Emperor, with the advice of Kang Yu Wei and others. These efforts brought about a reactionary *coup d'état*, with the restoration to power of the Empress-Dowager. This reform movement was not, however, of one year or one man; nor was it destroyed by the martyrdom of six of the reformers. Having been personally connected with many

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of the events of this movement, and acquainted with the leading participants as well as with their conservative rivals, I may best explain, in a brief account of the evolution of the spirit of reform, how, and what kind of reform, is yet possible.

As a race the Chinese are strikingly conservative. They are slow, patient, plodding, steadfast, and solid. The *literati*, and the mandarins, who as a rule have been chosen from the *literati*, are, through their training in the old learning of the Confucian classics, the highest exponents of conservatism. This conservatism is a form of patriotism, and is not, as some think, utterly reprehensible. The persistent and ever-widening contact with foreign nations has tended to impress the Chinese mind with what is new, if not with what is best. Trade at the ports produced a class among the Chinese more friendly to foreign ideas ; but this class consisted of the merchants, and was generally regarded as inferior in rank to the *literati*, who became gradually affected through schools started for the study of Western languages, and perhaps more widely, though unconsciously, by Western literature translated into Chinese. In this influence a leading part was played by the Society for the Diffusion of Knowledge, known in Great Britain as the Christian Literature Society.

Then came the war between Japan and China, with the unexpected collapse of China as a military and naval power, and the sudden display of strength, progress, diplomacy, and education in Japan as adopted from the West. Even the conservative officials at Peking began to think that a change might be necessary. The young Emperor, chagrined at defeat, began to inquire, to read, to study. The Grand Secretary, Li Hung Chang, having completed the treaty of peace, and having made his almost princely tour of the courts and cities of Europe and of the United States, once again urged upon his colleagues the necessity of reform measures. There were those ready to listen, though nothing was done.

The demand for reform was especially noticeable as coming from the younger men among the *literati* of highest rank. Early in 1895 Kang Yu Wei was, with others, in Peking, advocating a change. Soon after peace was restored, he left for the south. One day two young men of this class called upon the writer in Peking to inquire as to his plan for establishing an institute of learning, and finally announced that they had a similar purpose. They were urged to go ahead, and were promised coöperation so far as we could give it. The circle of those eager for the new learning and new methods slowly widened.

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A Reform Club was started, comprising a large number of the most intelligent young men. Unfortunately, there were very few from the Manchus of the city. The association was known to the high officials and even to the Throne. No opposition appeared. The majority of the men were not sympathizers with Kang Yu Wei, who was looked upon as an impractical dreamer. The movement was conservatively progressive.

Through a part of this time the Rev. Timothy Richard, of the Diffusion Society, was in Peking, consulting with many of these younger men and the older officials. We both prepared papers on reform and presented them to the government. Suddenly, through accusations brought forward in the memorial of a censor, an edict was issued ordering the Reform Club to be disbanded. Through another memorial of the same censor an edict was issued depriving one of the most capable reformers of all rank, and ordering him to return at once to his native province. There was a fear of connivance against the dynasty rather than opposition to Western learning. Another censor presented a memorial in favor of the Reform Club; and, after careful consideration, it was re-opened under a new name and with a high official, tutor to the Emperor, as sole supervisor. Reform Clubs were started in different towns throughout the provinces. Newspapers and magazines made progress their watch-word. Everywhere the spirit of reform was growing. What was needed was actual reform.

Thus things drifted till the memorable year of 1898. Kang Yu Wei again appeared in Peking. He had the ear of the Emperor. He boldly announced his views to the princes and ministers of the Tsungli Yamên, the Chinese foreign office. He was seconded by Mr. Liang, editor of "Progress," in Shanghai, by Tan Tsze Tung, son of the governor of Hupeh province, and by others. It may seem a pity that no one older and more cautious was at the head of this movement; but the fact remains that the man to secure a hearing, possessing the courage and originality to devise schemes and to present them in forcible and elegant language, was Kang Yu Wei. He was aided by his friend Mr. Timothy Richard, a man of untiring energy, great mental resource, and in thorough sympathy with all progressive tendencies.

The Emperor was tired of his old and backward advisers, and was eager to break away from the shackles that held him back. In these young men he found kindred spirits. With their advice he could do something to help save his Empire from ruin, and to make China strong and respected, as Japan had become. He had good aims and

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unexpected determination. Instead of being a weak figure-head, he suddenly displayed thoughtfulness, seriousness, resolution, and a sincere love for his people. He surprised his cabinet, the whole nation, and the whole world. How far the rush of reforming edicts came from his brain or from the enthusiasm of his young advisers, who met him privately by night, we can hardly say. Reform was certainly "booming," at least so far as pen could make it boom. He was sitting in his chariot of state, holding with loose reins the young colt, and lashing it. The Empress-Dowager, sitting behind and seeing the danger of overturning the chariot, seized the reins, threw away the lash, and told the young man to take the back seat and keep quiet.

A dangerous element in this reform movement was intrigue. The Emperor, knowing that many of his ideas and much of his spirit were offensive to the Empress-Dowager, wished her out of the way. His young advisers saw that trouble would exist so long as this woman, for whom they had no respect, possessed any power. They therefore schemed to call up the foreign-trained soldiers under Gen. Yuen, originally of the reform party, to capture the Empress-Dowager, and to keep her under guard and in confinement. The facts coming to the notice of Rung Luh, Viceroy at Tientsin, he hurried to the summer palace of the Empress-Dowager; and then followed the *coup d'état!*

Certain things should be remembered as to this family relationship. As early as 1860, before the present Emperor was born, the Empress-Dowager was ruling the Empire as Regent for her own son. On the death of her son without heir she advised the choice of the present Emperor, then only a lad. And who was he? His father was the seventh prince or younger brother of the Emperor Hien-Fêng, husband of this Empress-Dowager. The choice having been made the Empress-Dowager continued to act as Regent. She had the guidance of all the training which the future Emperor was to receive. When his parents died she took their place. She therefore deserved his respect as no one else did in the Empire. Instead of respect came intrigue; but this was more than matched by the wily and prompt action of the Empress-Dowager. The intrigue was bad, even though reforms were good.

The character and practicability of some of the reforms may now be noticed. A most important reform was the introduction of Western education. Schools were to be established all over the Empire, and for this purpose the temples were to be appropriated. This plan, pleasing to the foreign missionary, aroused a small disaffection among the

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priests and religious devotees. The system of examinations for degrees was also modified, so that Western sciences might take the place of Chinese classics and essay-writing. This reform, too, aroused opposition from some of the *literati* and from the adherents to Confucianism, though the favor which it received showed how widespread was the demand for Western learning.

Another important reform related to the formation of a judicial department. Though most desirable the scheme was rather visionary. It would require either better-trained Chinese or the employment of competent foreigners. A third reform was that of making and publishing financial accounts. This could hardly be done till the whole system of salaries or official support was altered, and such things as presents, perquisites, and bribes were eliminated. A fourth reform consisted of the cutting down of official bureaus. From the point of revenue this was desirable ; but it is easy to see that those thrown out of employment would form a powerful element of disaffection, threatening the peace of the country. That China has too many officials, or aspirants for office, with official rank, even the Chinese acknowledge ; and yet official life is a profession, much as is the practice of law in Western countries. On this profession thousands rely for daily livelihood. Not until new avenues of employment arise for the educated men of China can any attack on the official system be viewed with favor. A fifth reform altered the long-existing departments of the Peking government into new departments, after the model of Western countries. This met with opposition from those accustomed to the old ways, and no one appeared trained to carry out the new. The reform was good on paper, but useless in practice. It naturally aroused opposition from the major part of the officials.

There was, moreover, a tendency to cast aside and to ignore the veteran officials with their long and varied experience. A few "young fellows" were rushing the Empire into untried paths. The country was to be made prosperous by fanciful theories. To memorialize the Emperor, the prerogative of the highest officials only, became the right of every subject. A parliament hovered in sight. Perhaps even the dress would be changed and the queue cut off. At one stroke of the pen Christianity would be made the national religion. One change after another was promulgated by the Emperor. His aged advisers, spurned in the Council Chamber, trembled for themselves, if not for the State. At last a few of them went as a delegation to the Empress-Dowager to seek her interposition.

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It should not be overlooked that all these young reformers were Chinese rather than Manchus. As the Emperor espoused their views the movement could hardly be termed anti-dynastic. Still, the tendency was to be anti-Manchu ; and while this would win the Chinese it would repel the Manchus. It would thus be natural to arouse suspicion of a threatened revolution, dangerous to the preservation of the dynasty, though perhaps conducive to the prosperity of the Empire.

The reform party found sympathizers among Anglo-Saxons, while the Empress-Dowager, with supposed conservative tendencies, had the countenance of Russia. Kang Yu Wei favored Great Britain and Japan as opposed to France and Russia. Thus the reform movement had an element of partiality, and lost the unanimity of foreign support essential to success.

The attitude of the Empress-Dowager to reform is not as reactionary as the political events of the past year and more would indicate. When previously holding the Regency she was more favorable to progress than many of her ministers. She always supported Li Hung Chang, who for a quarter of a century was the unflinching advocate of progress. She favored a foreign-trained army and navy, the telegraph, railways, steamships, and other improvements. These she favored more as additions to the existing systems than as alterations of established usage. She was therefore more a progressive than a reformer. Her reforms have been material rather than moral. She sought changes that would increase revenue rather than such as would destroy corruption. Her palace is filled with foreign ornaments ; and bribery, avariciousness, pleasure, and laxity characterize her court. It is money that she wants and contrives to get : conscience is seldom consulted. The interests of the people do not concern her as they do the Emperor. She is feared, but not loved. The Emperor, on the other hand, by his sincere desire to improve the country and care for the needs of the people, has become popular and has helped to bring back glory to the existing dynasty. By working harmoniously the two rulers would guarantee wise and permanent reforms in the future.

The spirit of reform is not dead. We may almost say it has permeated the Empire. The knowledge is lacking to express it in public and salutary policies. Antagonism was expected from the masses, and it is surprising to note how quickly the masses have responded. The real antagonists have been the mandarinate. But why should the mandarins be more conservative than the people or even the *literati?* Here a strange feature of Chinese official life presents itself : many of those

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who are most friendly to foreign improvements are the most corrupt; many who are conservative and anti-foreign are the most honest. The "old-timer" prides himself on his ethics: the friend of foreigners has caught the craze for wealth and has learned the ways of the spendthrift and debauchee. The best way to win the conservative man is not by magnifying everything foreign, but by reverting to moral principles. For example, the governor of the province of Shantung, Li Ping Heng, was noted as extremely hostile to everything foreign. During his administration occurred the massacre of two German missionaries, leading to his degradation. He was spoken of as the most honest official in China. To him a few years ago the writer sent a document on reform, in which the moral element was made supreme. The governor wrote a personal letter expressing his approval, the only letter he ever addressed to a foreigner.

In examining the question of reforms in China we may fail to realize its vast complexity. Officials may be honest according to the Chinese system, though dishonest according to our own system of administration. If censure is to be passed, it should be passed on the system more than on the individual. Officials not only receive salaries determined by law, but other amounts determined by custom. What is beyond custom is regarded by the Chinese as corruption, and generally takes the form of bribery or extortion. The reason why the Chinese system is not changed to the Occidental is because its workings are familiar to all. If a high official needs more money for himself or his department he merely informs those immediately under him, and they in turn call upon their inferiors.

The whole political machinery works naturally, much like trade at home. To place the direction of the revenues and the expenditures of the whole Empire in control of the central government at Peking would seem to them a needless burden, much as if a department at Washington should undertake to control all the houses and shops, wholesale and retail, throughout the whole country, rather than allow each man to manage his own business. Only a few hundred years ago every European country had the system now prevailing in China. The Chinese system also will, no doubt, change; but the task will be more arduous than was ever undertaken in any other country. It will not be child's play. Nor can reforms be rushed through by an Imperial Edict and by a few visionary, hot-headed reformers.

The complexity of the problem is intensified by the international relations of China. She is not left to adapt to her own conditions any

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proposed system ; but in every move she must question its bearings on her foreign policy. Japan was given a free hand to learn from any source she pleased and to employ any instructor that she pleased. Not so with China. A person of one nationality invited as adviser or instructor arouses the jealousy of some other nationality, and, generally, opposition. Hence all foreigners are detested by many patriotic Chinamen, and reforms lie in abeyance.

The successful execution of reforms requires enlightenment. This enlightenment can come only by wider education, which is in itself a paramount reform. A change in this direction is possible, for the Chinese have always respected learning, and yield allegiance to the educated man. As soon as a way is found for retaining the learning which China has had through many centuries while the learning from abroad is assimilated, the mandarins and *literati*, conservative as well as progressive, will unite in opening the doors to truth, knowledge, and science, in this way preparing the mind of the country for future reforms and for the advance of Christianity. GILBERT REID.

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THE FUTILITY OF THE ANTI-TRUST ISSUE.

On July 2, 1890, Congress passed what has since been known as the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. Nevertheless, in his last annual message, President McKinley suggested further legislation upon the subject. And it seems quite certain that the platforms of both parties at the approaching national conventions will contain expressions of the same general character. It is, therefore, of interest to observe what is the scope of the present law. For if this statute constitutes a complete exercise of the power of Congress, the idea of further legislation is merely an idle delusion.

The authority which Congress possesses to legislate upon the subject is found in the constitutional provision that it shall have power "to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States;" and the acts prohibited by the statute are, accordingly, such as are "in restraint of trade or commerce among the several States or with foreign nations." What constitutes such commerce and what amounts to such a restraint thereof as may be prohibited by Congress have, therefore, been the fundamental questions for the courts to decide.

Both these questions were carefully considered in the Sugar Trust Case, decided in 1895. By absorbing numerous other companies, a corporation had secured control, throughout the country, of the manufacture of refined sugar. It was claimed that this was a combination or conspiracy in restraint of interstate commerce, because it was contemplated that the refined sugar should be sold in States other than those in which it was produced. But the court held that the question as to where the sugar would ultimately be shipped was of no importance; that the acquisition of sugar refineries by this corporation was merely an act done within the State where they were located, not an act in restraint of interstate commerce, although it might indirectly and incidentally affect such commerce; and that contracts, combinations, or conspiracies to control domestic enterprise in manufacturing, agriculture, mining, or production in all its forms, were not within the prohibition of the statute, although they might tend to restrain

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external as well as domestic trade. The decision, therefore, was, that the various processes of production are antecedent to, and distinct from, interstate commerce; that commerce begins after production has terminated; and that restraints merely upon production are not restraints upon commerce, although they may tend to diminish its volume.

In the Kansas City Live Stock Exchange Cases, decided in 1898, these rules were applied to different conditions. The exchanges were associations of persons engaged, in one case, in purchasing upon their own account live stock consigned from other States, and, in the other case, in selling such live stock on commission and remitting the proceeds to the owners. It was claimed that the rules and practice of the exchanges operated in restraint of interstate commerce. The court said that "the contract condemned by the statute is one whose direct and immediate effect is a restraint upon that kind of trade or commerce which is interstate." Accordingly, it ruled that the business done by the members of the exchanges was merely the sale and purchase, either as principals or as commission-merchants, of live stock locally at Kansas City, and that its character was not affected by the fact that the larger proportion of the purchases and sales was of live stock sent into the State from other States.

In the Traffic Association Cases, decided in 1897 and 1898, on the other hand, the agreements were made by a number of common carriers engaged in interstate commerce, "to establish and maintain reasonable and just rates, fares, rules, and regulations on State and interstate traffic," and contained provisions for accomplishing this purpose by joint action. The court here, too, said, that the statute applies only to those contracts whose direct and immediate effect is a restraint upon interstate commerce, and does not apply where the effect is indirect or incidental only, or merely collateral to the main object of the agreement. It held, however, that these contracts were within the statutory prohibition, because they directly affected interstate commerce by destroying competition and by maintaining rates above those which competition might produce, and that Congress had power to say that no contract or combination should be legal which restrained trade and commerce by preventing the operation of the general law of competition.

The recent case of the Addyston Pipe Company, decided on December 4, 1899, involved merely the application of these principles. In that case the agreement was among a number of independent cor-

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porations manufacturing iron pipe. The parties were located in four States, and naturally competed in many others. Under the agreement it was determined by previous arrangement among the parties which of them should have the privilege of bidding, to the exclusion of the others, when proposals to furnish pipe were invited at points within this competitive territory ; and for this exclusive privilege the party thus selected paid a bonus, which was divided among the parties to the agreement. This naturally operated to restrain the shipment of pipe from the States where it was made to those where it was used except as fixed by the arrangement among the parties.

In behalf of the defendants it was contended that the power of Congress to regulate commerce among the States excludes legislation by the States upon the subject, but does not authorize action by Congress curtailing the right to liberty in making contracts secured by the constitutional guarantees of liberty and property. This, of course, led the court to pass directly upon the extent of the power in the premises possessed by Congress. It said :

"Under this grant of power to Congress, that body, in our judgment, may enact such legislation as shall declare void and prohibit the performance of any contract between individuals or corporations where the natural and direct effect of such a contract will be, when carried out, to directly, and not as a mere incident to other and innocent purposes, regulate to any substantial extent interstate commerce. . . The power of Congress to regulate interstate commerce comprises the right to enact a law prohibiting the citizen from entering into those private contracts which directly and substantially, and not merely indirectly, remotely, incidentally, and collaterally, regulate to a greater or less degree commerce among the States."

After thus defining the power of Congress the court proceeded to consider whether the arrangement in this case had the direct and immediate result of restraining commerce among the States. It said that where a contract concerns the sale and delivery of an article in a State where it is not manufactured, the transaction is one of interstate commerce, although the vendor may also have agreed to manufacture that article in order to fulfil his contract of sale; and that in the Addyston Case it was the sale and delivery of the pipe, and not its manufacture, which were the material part of the contract, and a sale of the pipe for delivery beyond the State made the transaction a part of interstate commerce.

Having thus decided that the subject-matter was interstate commerce, the court proceeded to determine whether the arrangement restrained that commerce. Concerning this point, the court said that in

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order to render a combination a restraint of trade total suppression of trade in the commodity is not essential ; that the character of a combination is determined by its effect in limiting and restricting the right of each of the members to transact his business in the ordinary way as well as by its effect upon the volume or extent of the dealing in the commodity ; and that if an agreement or combination directly restrains, not alone the manufacture, but also the purchase, sale, or exchange of the manufactured commodity among the several States, it is within the provisions of the statute. These principles established, the court held, that the arrangement under consideration had the direct and immediate result of restraining the interstate commerce to which it applied, because the defendants, by reason of this combination and agreement, could send their goods for sale and delivery out of the State where they were manufactured into another State only upon their terms and pursuant to their provisions.

The court was careful to add that nothing decided in the case affected the rule already laid down; that, where parties are manufacturers of a commodity which they intend at some time to sell, and possibly to sell in another State, the sale is merely an incident—not the direct result of the manufacture—and is not a regulation of, or an illegal interference with, interstate commerce. It also added that the act of Congress has no application whatever to any combination regarding the sale of goods within the State where they are manufactured.

It may be observed that, so far as concerns existing business methods, this Addyston Pipe Case is of little importance. At one time there were numerous combinations of the same general character ; but since the original Sugar Trust organization, which was somewhat similar in form, was held by the courts of New York to be unlawful, this method of organization has been very generally abandoned. The present industrial organizations are merely large corporations engaged in manufacturing within the several States and selling their product wherever favorable markets are to be found. In the Sugar Trust Case, decided by the Supreme Court in 1895, to which reference has already been made, it was ruled precisely that such a corporation was not within the Anti-Trust law. The foregoing statement shows that the court has not varied from that ruling in the cases since decided, but has constantly and vigorously reiterated the principles upon which it was based.

The real importance of these cases lies in the fact that they define

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with precision the power in the premises granted to Congress by the Constitution. The subject-matter of that power, so far as merchandise is concerned, is merely the operation of transporting it from one State to another and selling it in the latter. The power to prohibit contracts or combinations as in restraint of that operation exists only in case such restraint is their direct and natural object and effect, and not where it is merely an indirect, remote, or collateral incident to their main purpose.

There can be no doubt that the terms of the present Anti-Trust act cover everything regarding which Congress is thus authorized to act. Its prohibition is of "*every* contract, combination in the form of trust or otherwise, or conspiracy, in restraint of trade or commerce among the several States, or with foreign nations." As President McKinley says in his last annual message: "It will be perceived that the act is aimed at *every* kind of combination in the nature of trust or monopoly in restraint of interstate or international commerce." It is clear, therefore, that so long ago as 1890 Congress exercised its full power against the so-called trusts. It can do nothing more, save, perhaps, to devise more inquisitorial methods of procedure or to fulminate more dire penalties; and even these would be of doubtful constitutionality.

As this statute covers the ground, as the courts are steadily giving to it all the effect warranted by the Constitution, and as the combinations which it prohibits have ceased—for the most part, if not entirely—to exist, it seems futile to urge at this late day the necessity of legislation by Congress. It is peculiarly characteristic of the present Democratic party that it apparently bases hopes of success at the polls upon clamor in favor of action which was, in fact, fully taken under a Republican administration ten years ago. DAVID WILLCOX.

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NEED OF BETTER GOVERNMENT IN THE INDIAN TERRITORY.

INDIAN TERRITORY has no organized local government. What laws it possesses are given it by the Congress of the United States; while the Federal Judges within her borders and the Interior Department there and at Washington fill the interstice.

The Department of Justice is represented in Indian Territory by five United States Territorial Judges. They are political appointees, serving for four years. Some of them are good men as well as good lawyers, who have been, and are now, of vast benefit to the Indian Territory and its people. They have obstacles to overcome, and vast ones, it is true; but the majority of the inhabitants are willing to assist them through coöperation and encouragement. What has been said of the Territorial Judges is true as well of the four United States District Attorneys.

The Department of the Interior is directly represented by a United States Indian Inspector, who serves as the special representative of, and adviser to, the Secretary of that Department. His duties are onerous, and their discharge requires great sagacity, executive ability, and courage. His duties make him virtually the Chief Executive of the Territory. Immediately under his supervision is the United States Indian Agent for the Five Civilized Tribes.

Another branch of the Interior Department is the commission known as "The Dawes Commission;" its legal title being the Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes. This commission is a peculiar institution. Its like has never before been known, in fact or in fiction. It is composed of four members who employ about 100 men, ranging from a disbursing clerk to a negro roustabout. The commission was created and sent to the Territory in 1893. Its original, sole mission was, to endeavor to make new treaties with the five tribes of Indians occupying that country. Each succeeding Congress has given to the commission increased jurisdiction. At present it has the power to make a treaty; or, if a tribe refuses to ratify it, the members of the commission, according to their own peculiar ideas of the Indian laws

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and customs, can make a list of the tribe's members and proceed to set aside to each of the citizens a preliminary allotment. Since 1893 the commission has made two treaties, which have been ratified by both contracting parties—the Chickasaw-Choctaw Treaty and the Seminole Treaty. Beyond this, nothing has been definitely accomplished. Many matters of great public importance lawfully come under the commission's authority.

The commission secures from each succeeding Congress a new lease of official existence, together with a new, and always increased, appropriation. As the appropriations have increased so the clerical force of the commission has grown, until it has become, in fact as well as in reputation, the Rock-of-Ages for shipwrecked politicians from all parts of the United States. It has become a financial drain upon the general government and a thorn in the sides of the Indians and the white people of the Territory alike. It would be consonant with the ideas of good government for the Indian Territory to abolish this commission and allow the Secretary of the Interior to govern. There is ample warrant for this in the present law; and it would only be necessary for the Congress to fail to make an appropriation for the commission, to permit it to pass into innocuous desuetude.

The Indian Territory has a total population of at least 500,000. These people are certainly entitled to careful consideration at the hands of our government, even if they have no voice in it. The Territory has been greatly neglected and also greatly abused; but its inhabitants have not yet abandoned the hope that the Congress will at some time come to their relief and give them a good system of local government, which will be uniform throughout the five civilized tribes that constitute the Territory. This may be done by the creation of a Territorial form of government, or by permitting the Secretary of the Interior to govern as the Tzar governs the Russians. Owing to the fact that real-estate in the Territory is Indian land and non-taxable, a government by the representative of the Secretary would, at present, be the only practicable method. By giving his representative full control, the power and responsibility of government, which are now distributed among the many, could be consolidated in one official. History has taught that it is unwise to place several persons at the head of any government; that where such is the case it is difficult to fix responsibility. A constant endeavor to shift the blame for shortcomings from the shoulders of one official to those of another repre-

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sents the conditions in the Indian Territory to-day ; so that reforms are urgently needed.

It is true that such a change as I have proposed would mean the abolition of some of the positions now filled by politicians. But no political party within the Territory should object to this; for nearly all such places are filled by importations from the States. The machinery of government ought to exist for the benefit of the people of the Territory, not for the accommodation of the politicians from the States ; and the Congress would, of course, give to the latter no serious consideration. During the coming session of Congress that body will have placed before it voluminous reports and recommendations from all the Federal officials of the Territory; and it will find in attendance at Washington representatives of different towns and factions. From these the members of Congress will gain a vast amount of information and some excellent suggestions. But the statements will be conflicting and confusing ; yet out of the mass it is to be hoped that a system will be evolved which will be a vast improvement over the present one.

Indian Territory resembles Alaska more closely than any other part of the United States. Preposterous as the statement may appear, it is nevertheless true that this Territory is not governed nearly so well as Alaska, although it has a much greater population, and much more varied industries, and will always stand higher than Alaska. When the district has had the opportunity to develop its great resources—principal among which are mining, stock-raising, and cotton-planting—it is bound to rank as one of the leading States of the Union. Its location affords access to more and better markets than Alaska can enjoy, and its position in the midst of the States entitles it to such consideration at the hands of the Congress as will relieve its people of the evils of a lack of good government. Not only does the Territory demand a better government, but the rights of the people of the surrounding States are also worthy of consideration ; and an improvement in the government of the Indian Territory would result in relieving those States of the annoyances now suffered through the criminals of the Territory, and also in furthering their commercial and industrial development.

About the only matters concerning the true conditions of the Territory that seem to be known beyond its borders are, that there are a great many criminals in the Indian Territory, that a great many crimes are committed there, and that the courts have their dockets so

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full of prosecutions that scarcely any other class of court business receives attention. The resources of the country are so great, that when the rights and needs of the people receive due consideration, we may depend upon it that matters governmental as well as industrial will be so improved, that the reputation of the Territory for outlawry will soon be changed to one for progress and prosperity.

While our national government is planning schemes for the betterment of Puerto Rico, Samoa, and our other island possessions, it should also think of relieving the situation in the Indian Territory. The people of the Territory have been waiting patiently for years, in the hope that the needed changes would be inaugurated; and, moreover, it must not be forgotten that its inhabitants include a great many people coming from other portions of our Republic, where they were accustomed to good government. These persons naturally feel the lack of such to an extent entirely unknown to the inhabitants of our new possessions. The latter, if we are rightly informed, have not been accustomed to any specially beneficent care. They would, therefore, be vastly benefited by a system of government such as the Indian Territory now enjoys; and the inhabitants of the Territory would be only too happy to pass over to the former their present government, in order that the nation might establish for them a form of government to which they feel themselves entitled by their proximity to the enlightened conditions of the States.

DAVID W. YANCEY.

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LONGEVITY AND DEGENERATION.

WHAT has been the chief characteristic of the nineteenth century? No two critics agree, nor can they, because each prefers a different quality. One singles out science, another, invention, as the dominant trait. A third, who looks mainly at the political aspect of life, says democracy. Others, again, say pessimism, philanthropy, doubt, or toleration. So many features, so much diversity, argue at least for many-sidedness.

There is one characteristic, however, which distinguishes the nineteenth century from all previous centuries—a characteristic which has become too common to attract the attention it deserves, although it really measures all the rest: this is longevity. During the past one hundred years the length of life of the average man in the United States and in the more civilized parts of Europe has increased from a little over 30 to about 40 years. A multitude of causes, mostly physical, have contributed to this result. Foremost among these should be placed (1) whatever may be included under the general term sanitation; (2) improved methods in medicine; and (3) the more regular habits of living which are the direct outcome of industrial life on a large scale. These are some of the evident means by which life has been lengthened. Inventions, which have made production cheap and the transportation of all products both cheap and easy, have had an influence too great to be computed. And no doubt much has been due to a general improvement in methods of government; although, in the main, there has been much less progress in practical government than is commonly supposed. No great railroad company or banking house or manufacturing corporation could prosper if its officers and employees were chosen and kept in office according to the system by which political offices, almost everywhere, are filled. "None but experts wanted," is the sign written over the entrance to every profession, trade, and occupation—except government.

But, whatever governments have done or left undone, the fact to be insisted on here is, that the average man to-day lives almost ten years longer than his grandfather lived. Indisputably, therefore, the

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year 1900 finds conditions more conducive to longevity than existed a century ago. This is true beyond question for the masses, who feel immediately the effects of plenty, hunger, and cold—the great physical dispensers of life and death. But improvement in the conditions essential to the physical well-being of the masses need not imply a similar improvement in the more favored minority, in those who—to make a distinction which is sufficiently exact for our purposes—work with their heads instead of with their hands. And, indeed, the impression has long been current that modern life has been growing more and more destructive to precisely this class. Ever since the wheels of civilization began to turn more swiftly, ever since the introduction of steam-power, it has been the fashion to cry out against the acceleration of speed. "We live too fast;" "The tension is too great;" "Men are soon worn out or broken down;" "The pace that kills"—these, and similar phrases, commonly accepted without question, indicate the prevalent belief that our era, in spite of its positive gains for some classes, does not conduce to longevity among brain-workers.

This opinion, which the unthinking public accepts so readily, has been promulgated during the past decade by men of science, who have seemed to take a grim satisfaction in demonstrating that the race in general, and intellectual men in particular, have been hurried by a counterfeit progress toward decadence. Degeneration has become a by-word. Man has been summoned before a dozen sciences, each of which has investigated, cross-examined, and condemned him. When he has tried to plead extenuating circumstances, citing those improvements in his actual conditions of which he is proud, his judges have assured him that what he calls progress is a hallucination, in pursuit of which he has been brought to the verge of the precipice.

Evidently, here is a question of immense importance. If it be true that all the agents of material progress are but ill-disguised causes of degeneration—that the conditions brought about by science and invention are really blighting civilized society at the top—then, indeed, has the race passed its meridian and hastes now to decline and extinction, as Bacon believed to be true three centuries ago. If this be proved, material progress must be regarded as a baneful stimulant, sharpening the wits and quickening the sensations for a while, but, in the end, leading, like brandy, or morphine, or absinthe, to inevitable collapse, madness, and death. The theory of degeneration logically followed leads to this conclusion.

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But, before accepting this theory, let us apply the test of longevity to a sufficiently large number of nineteenth-century brain-workers to enable us to see whether modern conditions are really destroying society at the top. Longevity is a test from which there is no appeal. A genius who dies at forty may well be worth to the world more than a thousand sexagenarian men of talent, so that mere number of years in individual cases may count for little ; but no community, nor considerable class of men, lives to old age under permanently unfavorable conditions. The wages of sin—and with sin we must include ignorance of the laws of living—is death. The test of longevity, therefore, will allow us to make some precise deductions concerning modern conditions, just as the annual death-rate tells us something definite about the sanitary conditions of cities.

The lists which follow do not pretend to comprise the names of all the eminent persons in any group ; but they do aim at giving a sufficiently large number of representative names to furnish the data we are seeking. In order to cover exactly one hundred years, I have included the year 1800 in the nineteenth century ; and of persons born in the eighteenth century, only those are cited who lived more than half of their life since 1800. The classification aims at convenience, not at scientific exactness. The Duke of Wellington, Victor Hugo, Ruskin, or Guizot, to name but a few examples, might with equal propriety have been put in other groups than those here given. Only a few living celebrities[1] whose age already exceeds that of their group are included. It would obviously be useless to cite the young or middle-aged, who may have many years, or only a few months, of life ahead of them.

Let us take first the poets of the century ; for about them the greatest misconceptions prevail, and at them the preachers of degeneration have aimed their keenest criticisms. Ever since the days of antiquity there has been a popular fallacy that poets die young. The poet has been depicted as a creature frail in body, hypersensitive in emotion, unpractical in business, with a fatal tendency to long hair and consumption—a person, in short, unfitted to battle with the world or to bear up under ordinary physical ills. This is the popular notion. But what are the facts, so far as the following table reveals them? Here are 46 poets who lived, on an average, 66 years. Only four—Keats, Hood, Clough, and Lanier—died young, of consumption ; only five—Byron, De Musset, Heine, Poe, and Rossetti—cut short their

[1] An asterisk precedes their names.

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career by vicious life; Leopardi was a spinal cripple from birth; Lenau lost his reason in his prime. But this makes only one-fifth of the total number. Should we find similar longevity among a group of so-called practical men? Should we find that only one-fifth of a company of artisans, farmers, merchants, or lawyers died prematurely, from physical or moral frailty? Our list of poets has a peculiar, representative value, because these 46 men came from the most diverse social layers—Byron and Auersperg were nobles, Keats was a stable-keeper's son—with the widest variations in inheritance, training, money-getting opportunities, and vicissitudes. Nevertheless, they lived, on an average, three score and six years. Surely, we need to revise our conception of the pathology of poets! The poet is not a man who dies young, but a man who keeps his imagination, sympathy, and emotions young as long as he lives.

46 Poets. Average, 66 years.

Manzoni, 89.	Browning, 77.	Heine, 57.
Landor, 89.	Houghton, 76.	Rossetti, 54.
Rogers, 88.	Longfellow, 75.	Delavigne, 50.
Henry Taylor, 86.	Moore, 73.	Lenau, 48.
Holmes, 85.	Whitman, 73.	A. de Musset, 47.
Whittier, 85.	Lowell, 72.	Hood, 46.
Tennyson, 83.	Oehlenschläger, 71.	Giusti, 41.
Hugo, 83.	Auersperg, 70.	Clough, 40.
Bryant, 82.	Southey, 69.	Poe, 40.
Grillparzer, 81.	Arnold, 66.	Platen, 39.
Wordsworth, 80.	Vigny, 64.	Leopardi, 39.
Lamartine, 79.	Tegnér, 64.	Lanier, 38.
Emerson, 79.	W. Morris, 62.	Byron, 37.
Tupper, 79.	Coleridge, 62.	W. Müller, 31.
Béranger, 77.	Scott, 61.	Shelley, 30.
	Keats, 26.	

We come next to two other classes of artists, who, from the fact of being artists, lie under the same suspicion which overshadows the poets. Painters and sculptors, on the one hand, and musicians, on the other, are commonly supposed to be endowed with an emotional temperament which easily sinks into neurotic degeneration; and this tends to abridge life. Nevertheless, we find that 39 painters and sculptors averaged 66 years and that 30 musicians averaged 62 years. Mu-

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sicians seem, on the whole, to be men of less stability, whether physical or moral, than any other class we shall survey. It is noteworthy, therefore, that they should fall so little behind other artists.

39 PAINTERS AND SCULPTORS. Average, 66 years.

Cornelius, 84.	Thorwaldsen, 74.	Delacroix, 64.
* Watts, 80.	Bartolini, 73.	Scheffer, 63.
Gilbert, 80.	* Holman Hunt, 72.	Daubigny, 61.
Rauch, 80.	P. Rousseau, 71.	Millet, 60.
Corot, 79.	Landseer, 71.	De la Roche, 59.
* Ziem, 78.	Vela, 69.	Fromentin, 56.
J. Dupré, 77.	Kaulbach, 69.	Troyon, 55.
Meissonier, 76.	Powers, 68.	T. Rousseau, 55.
Gibson, 76.	Millais, 67.	W. M. Hunt, 55.
Turner, 76.	Leighton, 66.	Constable, 53.
Story, 76.	Burne-Jones, 65.	Doré, 50.
* Gérôme, 75.	G. Dupré, 65.	Makart, 44.
H. Vernet, 74.	Couture, 64.	Fortuny, 36.

30 MUSICIANS. Average, 62 years.

Auber, 89.	Strauss, 74.	Tchaikoffsky, 53.
Lachner, 86.	Meyerbeer, 73.	Donizetti, 50.
Verdi, 86.	Wagner, 70.	Schumann, 46.
Thomas, 85.	Berlioz, 66.	Hérold, 42.
Spontini, 77.	Abt, 66.	Chopin, 40.
Franz, 77.	Rubinstein, 64.	Weber, 40.
Rossini, 76.	Brahms, 64.	Mendelssohn, 38.
Gounod, 75.	Bülow, 64.	Bizet, 37.
Liszt, 75.	Balfe, 62.	Bellini, 33.
Mercadante, 75.	Raff, 60.	Schubert, 31.

Novelists form another group of comparatively short-lived persons, the average being only 63 years for 26 persons ; but this number is too small to warrant any attempt to generalize as to the cause of the poor record. Novelists have not had to battle against greater poverty than confronted many of the painters and musicians ; nor have they had to endure any greater public neglect or a longer postponement of fame. The contrast between their vitality and that of men of letters, with whom their occupation often almost coincides, deserves a more

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detailed discussion than can be given to it here. The average for 40 men of letters is 67 years.

26 Novelists. Average, 63 years.

Augier, 79.	Reade, 70.	Ebers, 60.
Irving, 76.	* Heyse, 69.	Scheffel, 60.
Conscience, 71.	A. Trollope, 67.	Flaubert, 59.
* Meredith, 71.	Collins, 65.	Dickens, 58.
P. de Kock, 71.	Mayne Reid, 65.	Daudet, 57.
Auerbach, 70.	Cooper, 62.	Marryat, 56.
Andersen, 70.	Du Maurier, 62.	Thackeray, 53.
Bulwer, 70.	Hawthorne, 60.	Sue, 53.
	Balzac, 51.	Maupassant, 43.

40 Men of Letters. Average, 67 years.

Lönnrot, 82.	E. de Goncourt, 74.	Gautier, 61.
J. Grimm, 81.	E. Scherer, 74.	Lockhart, 60.
Halévy, 81.	De Quincey, 74.	P. G. Hamerton, 60.
Villemain, 80.	Leigh Hunt, 73.	Montalembert, 60.
Châteaubriand, 80.	Bodenstet, 73.	Stendhal, 59.
Bowring, 80.	W. Grimm, 73.	Lamb, 59.
Littré, 80.	Quinet, 72.	About, 57.
Trench, 79.	Scribe, 70.	Pater, 55.
Borrow, 78.	Janin, 70.	Bayard Taylor, 53.
Jeffrey, 77.	Renan, 69.	Symonds, 53.
Whateley, 76.	G. W. Curtis, 68.	Hazlitt, 52.
Fitzgerald, 74.	Mérimée, 67.	Thoreau, 45.
S. Smith, 74.	Sainte-Beuve, 65.	Stevenson, 44.
	J. de Goncourt, 40.	

In the next list are included religious leaders, who may not inappropriately be classed with the emotional and imaginative groups. It is difficult to decide whom to put in this list, so elusive and often so transitory or local is the fame of a religious celebrity. I have omitted all the routine ecclesiastics—the archbishops, bishops, and cardinals—with whom advanced age is almost a prerequisite for office. Of the 22 men here enumerated Robertson, Parker, Irving, and Drummond died unusually young; and, but for the compensating great age of

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Martineau, Döllinger, Newman, and Manning, the average would be lower than that of any other group.

22 Religious. Average, 66 years.

* Martineau, 94.	Bushnell, 74.	Lacordaire, 59.
Döllinger, 91.	Lamennais, 72.	Spurgeon, 58.
J. H. Newman, 89.	Ventura, 69.	P. Brooks, 56.
Manning, 84.	Maurice, 67.	Vinet, 50.
Pusey, 82.	Stanley, 66.	Drummond, 46.
Jowett, 76.	Wiseman, 63.	Irving, 42.
Beecher, 74.	J. C. Hare, 60.	Parker, 40.
	Robertson, 37.	

To the emotional rather than to the intellectual classes belong the women whose names follow. The list is not large enough to throw light on the relative vitality of women and men ; but it is noteworthy that only six of the 35 here mentioned died before they were 60 ; and of those six, one, Margaret Fuller, was lost at sea—an accident which can have no bearing on vital persistence.

35 Women. Average, 69 years.

Mary Somerville, 92.	"Daniel Stern," 71.
Joanna Baillie, 89.	Mrs. Oliphant, 69.
H. B. Stowe, 85.	Caroline Norton, 69.
Mary Howitt, 84.	Miss Mitford, 68.
Mrs. Trollope, 83.	Jean Ingelow, 67.
Maria Mitchell, 81.	Caroline Southey, 66.
* Queen Victoria, 80.	Elizabeth Frye, 65.
"Fernan Caballero," 80.	Frederika Bremer, 64.
* J. W. Howe, 80.	Princess Belgiojoso, 63.
* Florence Nightingale, 79.	"George Eliot," 61.
* F. P. Cobbe, 78.	Jane Carlyle, 61.
Rosa Bonheur, 77.	Miss Mulock, 61.
Lady Morgan, 76.	Mrs. Browning, 56.
Harriet Martineau, 74.	Mrs. Gaskell, 55.
* Empress Eugénie, 73.	Mrs. Hemans, 42.
Mme. Récamier, 72.	Margaret Fuller, 40.
"George Sand," 72.	Charlotte Brontë, 39.
	Emily Brontë, 30.

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We now come first to the group of philosophers, among whom are included a few economists, with an average of 65 years, and then to historians, who prove to be a long-lived class. On the surface, there appears to be no reason why an historian should outlive a philosopher; but as we are investigating the fact, and not the cause, of longevity, we note the fact and pass on.

18 PHILOSOPHERS. Average, 65 years.

Mamiani, 85.	Froebel, 70.	Hegel, 61.
* Spencer, 80.	W. Hamilton, 68.	Comte, 59.
A. W. Schlegel, 78.	Mill, 66.	Rosmini, 58.
Cousin, 75.	Schleiermacher, 66.	Gioberti, 51.
Schopenhauer, 72.	Herbart, 65.	Bastiat, 49.
Ricardo, 71.	Lotze, 64.	Jouffroy, 46.

38 HISTORIANS. Average, 73 years.

Ranke, 91.	Curtius, 82.	Freeman, 69.
Bancroft, 90.	Lingard, 80.	Sismondi, 69.
Mignet, 88.	Sybel, 78.	Prescott, 67.
Guizot, 87.	Milman, 77.	Winsor, 66.
Carlyle, 85.	Grote, 77.	Taine, 65.
Merivale, 85.	Sparks, 77.	Viollet-le-Duc, 65.
G. Rawlinson, 84.	Michelet, 76.	Motley, 63.
Duruy, 83.	Froude, 76.	Aug. Thierry, 61.
Hallam, 82.	Am. Thierry, 76.	Seeley, 61.
Kinglake, 82.	Martin, 73.	Macaulay, 59.
Savigny, 82.	Michaud, 72.	Tocqueville, 54.
* Mommsen, 82.	Parkman, 70.	Lanfey, 49.
J. R. Green, 46.		Buckle, 41.

The men of science and invention, genuine products of this age, of whom 58 are cited below, have also a strong hold on life. Their average—72 years—is equal to within a few months of the age of Darwin, their great master. Whatever grounds there may be for arraigning science and invention as the evil genii that have been undermining

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the stamina of the race, it is consoling to find that scientists and inventors themselves show no signs of impaired vitality.

58 SCIENTISTS AND INVENTORS. Average, 72 years.

Humboldt, 90.	Layard, 77.	Schliemann, 68.
De Lesseps, 89.	E. de Beaumont, 76.	Gauss, 68.
Bunsen, 88.	E. W. Siemens, 76.	Stephenson, 67.
Owen, 88.	* Thomson, 75.	Brugsch, 67.
Ericsson, 86.	Faraday, 75.	Ohm, 67.
* Bessemer, 86.	Lepsius, 74.	Agassiz, 66.
H. Rawlinson, 85.	Cayley, 74.	Leverrier, 66.
Joseph Henry, 81.	Oersted, 74.	Cuvier, 63.
Ehrenberg, 81.	Darwin, 73.	Kirckhoff, 63.
S. F. B. Morse, 81.	Tyndall, 73.	Daguerre, 62.
Ritter, 80.	Helmholtz, 73.	Ampère, 61.
Herschel, 79.	Pasteur, 73.	C. W. Siemens, 60.
Murchison, 79.	Adams, 73.	Livingstone, 60.
Gray, 78.	Wheatstone, 73.	Petermann, 56.
Dalton, 78.	G. St. Hilaire, 72.	* Koch, 56.
Lyell, 78.	* Lister, 72.	H. Miller, 54.
Audubon, 77.	Joule, 71.	Davy, 51.
* Wallace, 77.	B. Peirce, 71.	Proctor, 51.
Sylvester, 77.	Huxley, 70.	W. T. G. Morton, 49.
	E. Howe, 48.	

Wholly unexpected is the upshot of the next table, which comprises another class of persons peculiar to this century. One would say, off-hand, that agitators of political and social reform must be quickly consumed by the intensity of their work; but, on the contrary, they are no flash-in-the-pan men. They have fortitude, the power of endless reiteration and hammering, the capacity of hoping against hope. They seem all froth and fire and impatience; but neither imprisonment, nor exile, nor poverty, nor the world's scorn can kill them. And so, as appears from these shining examples, agitators die late. I put Ruskin among them, because, during half a century, he has been, whether in æsthetics, ethics, or economics, above all and at all times an agitator. Lassalle, the only short-lived member of this group, was killed in a brawl over a woman—an edifying exit for a would-be regenerator of mankind!

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14 AGITATORS. Average, 69 years.

Kossuth, 92.	Garrison, 74.	Marx, 65.
Schœlcher, 89.	Phillips, 73.	Mazzini, 64.
* Ruskin, 80.	L. Blanc, 71.	Bakunine, 64.
Garibaldi, 75.	Ledru-Rollin, 67.	Herzen, 58.
	Henry George, 58.	Lassalle, 39.

Coming now to the so-called men of action, the military and naval commanders, we find that war during the nineteenth century has conduced to longevity among the men at the top. The 48 commanders under review attained on an average 71 years; but the Europeans outlived the Americans by over seven years.

48 MILITARY AND NAVAL COMMANDERS. Average, 71 years.

American (66).	Thomas, 56.	Mortier, 77.
J. E. Johnston, 84.	Jackson, 39.	Bazaine, 77.
W. Scott, 80.		Benedek, 77.
* Longstreet, 78.	*European* (73).	Windischgrätz, 75.
Porter, 78.	Radetzky, 92.	Lamarmora, 74.
Frémont, 77.	Moltke, 91.	W. F. P. Napier, 75.
Beauregard, 75.	Canrobert, 86.	C. Napier, 74.
Sherman, 71.	Macmahon, 85.	Cardigan, 71.
McClellan, 69.	Soult, 82.	C. J. Napier, 71.
Farragut, 69.	Menshikoff, 82.	Raglan, 67.
Hooker, 65.	* Görgei, 81.	Todleben, 66.
Grant, 63.	Trochu, 81.	* Osman Pasha, 62.
Lee, 63.	Cialdini, 81.	Havelock, 62.
A. S. Johnston, 59.	Archduke Albert, 80.	Chanzy, 60.
Sheridan, 57.	R. C. Napier, 80.	Gordon, 52.
Meade, 57.	Roon, 79.	Tegethof, 44.
Halleck, 57.	Marmont, 78.	Skobeleff, 38.

A similar disparity in favor of Europeans will be noticed in the last group, comprising public men and statesmen. This being by far the largest class we have examined—including 112 names—it affords safer data for generalization. When we find that the average longevity of statesmen exceeds 71 years, we may infer that modern conditions have not had such baleful effects on vitality as is popularly supposed. For statesmen occupy precisely the position where the wear-and-tear is greatest. They are subjected at times to immense

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strain. They sway or are swayed by the most powerful passions; the very routine of their daily life being irregular. Worry, excitement, reverses, or victories equally exhausting—these are the statesman's portion. Nevertheless, as a class, they live beyond three score years and ten. Analyzing the list, we learn that 16 presidents of the United States lived on an average 67 years, but that British prime ministers averaged 77 years.[1] No other group approaches the record for longevity of these last, just as no other has borne, as a matter of course, so great a burden of responsibility and work. Here and there a Bismarck, a Cavour, or a Lincoln has unquestionably carried more than any single British prime minister; but neither Prussian nor Italian premiers, nor United States presidents, have, as a class, equalled the British standard. It should be remembered that Lincoln and Garfield, two of the youngest presidents, died by assassination, and that immorality hastened the death of Parnell, Boulanger, and Gambetta.

112 STATESMEN AND PUBLIC MEN. Average, 71 years.

U. S. Presidents (67).
J. Q. Adams, 81.
Van Buren, 80.
Jackson, 78.
Buchanan, 77.
Fillmore, 74.
Tyler, 72.
Hayes, 71.
W. H. Harrison, 68.
Johnson, 67.
Taylor, 66.
Pierce, 65.
Grant, 63.
Lincoln, 56.
Arthur, 56.
Polk, 54.
Garfield, 50.

British Premiers (77).
Gladstone, 89.
Wellington, 83.
Palmerston, 81.
Grey, 81.
Russell, 80.
Disraeli, 77.
Goderich, 77.
Aberdeen, 76.
Derby, 70.
Melbourne, 69.
Peel, 62.

Public Men: American (69).
Hamlin, 82.
J. Davis, 81.
Benton, 76.
T. Stevens, 75.
Clay, 75.
Toombs, 75.
Benjamin, 72.
Marcy, 71.

[1] Thirteen British prime ministers in the eighteenth century averaged only 65 years; viz., Walpole, 69; Carteret, 73; Pelham, 59; Newcastle, 75; Chatham, 70; North, 60; Bute, 79; Wyndham, 65; Rockingham, 52; Grafton, 52; Shelburne, 68; Portland, 71; Pitt, 47. The wide difference between the averages for the eighteenth and the nineteenth century cannot be attributed to mere accident.

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Seward, 71.
Everett, 71.
Webster, 70.
Calhoun, 68.
Chase, 65.
Sumner, 63.
Blaine, 63.
Stanton, 55.
Douglas, 48.

British (75).

Lyndhurst, 91.
Brougham, 89.
Shaftesbury, 84.
Selborne, 83.
Malmesbury, 82.
Lowe, 81.
Iddesleigh, 79.
Bright, 78.
Croker, 77.
Granville, 76.
O'Connell, 72.
Clarendon, 70.
Cobden, 61.
Parnell, 45.

European (70).

William I, 91.
B. St. Hilaire, 90.
* Leo XIII, 89.
Schmerling, 88.
Pius IX, 86.
Metternich, 86.
Broglie, 85.
Gortschakoff, 85.
Capponi, 84.
Crémieux, 84.
Bismarck, 83.
Simon, 82.
Nesselrode, 82.
* Crispi, 81.
Bastide, 79.
Pozzo di Borgo, 78.
Louis Philippe, 77.
Beust, 77.
Joseph Bonaparte, 76.
Jerome Bonaparte, 76.
Stockmar, 76.
* Ollivier, 74.
Varnhagen, 73.
Deák, 73.
Favre, 71.
Ricasoli, 71.
Gramont, 71.
Antonelli, 70.
Széchenyi, 69.
Prince Napoleon, 69.
C. Bunsen, 69.
Minghetti, 68.
M. d'Azeglio, 68.
Louis Bonaparte, 68.
* Ignatieff, 67.
Andrassy, 67.
Decazes, 67.
Rattazzi, 65.
Napoleon III, 65.
Lucien Bonaparte, 65.
C. Balbo, 64.
Persigny, 64.
Count of Chambord, 63.
Ferry, 61.
Victor Emanuel II, 58.
Walewski, 58.
Frederick I, 57.
Count of Paris, 56.
Morny, 54.
Boulanger, 54.
Manin, 53.
Cavour, 51.
Gambetta, 44.
Prince Albert, 42.

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A general summary of all these groups and individuals shows that the average duration of life has been about 68 years and 8 months, viz. :

SUMMARY.

	Average.		Average.
46 Poets	66.	18 Philosophers	65.
39 Painters and Sculptors	66.	38 Historians	73.
30 Musicians	62.	58 Scientists and Inventors	72.
26 Novelists	63.	14 Agitators	69.
40 Men of Letters	67.	48 Commanders	71.
22 Religious	66.	112 Statesmen	71.
35 Women	69.	Average, 68 years, 8 months.	

Here, then, we have not a theory nor a popular fallacy, but certain definite information concerning nearly 530 of the prominent men and women of the nineteenth century. The assumption has been that modern conditions are destructive to the vitality of just this upper class of brain-workers. The fact is, that these persons lived on an average 68 years and 8 months ; that is, nearly 30 years longer than the population as a whole. Were we to double the number of names the result would not be very different.

It may be urged that a considerable minority of these persons grew up in the eighteenth century and died before the distinctive conditions of the nineteenth century had full play. This is true ; but on analysis we find that most of the long-lived belong to those whose career fell wholly within the nineteenth century. Roughly speaking, 1820 may be set down as the year when the general adoption of steam-power revolutionized methods of manufacturing and of travel by water ; as early as 1840 railways were beginning to affect the distribution of population and of commercial products ; by 1860 the electric telegraph had come into general use ; and since 1860 one invention after another has helped to quicken the rate of speed at which society moves. Accordingly, we can say that the distinctive conditions of the century have been in full swing for nearly 50 years, and that, if injurious, their effects would be seen on the men who reached their prime about 1850 or subsequently.

Our examination has shown that these men have suffered no curtailment of life. Look at the list, and particularly at those who have lived 80 years, or longer : Martineau, Döllinger, Leo XIII, Bismarck, Gladstone, Tennyson, Newman, Kossuth, Schœlcher, Queen Vic-

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toria, Mrs. J. W. Howe, Malmesbury, Lowe, Selborne, Shaftesbury, J. E. Johnston, Moltke, Görgei, Cialdini, Macmahon, Canrobert, Trochu, Bessemer, Ericsson, Ritter, Owen, H. Rawlinson, Bunsen, Kinglake, Merivale, Bancroft, G. Rawlinson, Ranke, Mommsen, Carlyle, Curtius, Mamiani, Gilbert, Manning, Littré, Verdi, Thomas, Hamlin, Jefferson Davis, William I, Simon, B. St. Hilaire, Gortschakoff, Broglie, Crispi, Crémieux, Maria Mitchell, Henry Taylor, De Lesseps, Morse, Henry, Halévy, Whittier, Holmes, Bryant, Mrs. H. B. Stowe, Spencer, Ruskin, Hugo, Watts, Pusey, Duruy.

These 65 men and women not only lived long, but, as a rule, they also worked long and hard. Conditions under which the greatest workers in the world live to be octogenarians or older certainly cannot be permanently deleterious. It may be that after another hundred years these modern conditions will have proved injurious, and will have undermined the vitality of our grandchildren; my business, however, is not to prophesy, but to ascertain the truth as it exists to-day. That truth, so far as our lists reveal it, is, that civilized society is not withering at the top. Incidentally, we perceive that the possession of genius, or even of any excellence in a marked degree, carries with it the presumption of unusual vitality. Great men may die young, but, in general, greatness presupposes a strong hold on life. By the latter I do not mean mere muscular strength. Indeed, many of these patriarchs were physically frail. But I mean strength of will, of intellect, and of character, which have far more influence than we commonly imagine in prolonging life. Whoever doubts this should examine whether the longevity of any 530 athletes of whom there is a record approaches an average of 68 years.

And this brings us to consider briefly the charge of degeneration which for a good while past some scientific men have levelled at our century. Current conditions, as longevity shows, may not of themselves be harmful; but may not men to-day be undergoing a slow deterioration? First by surmise or innuendo, and later by direct assertion, backed up by apparently scientific testimony, hostile critics have created the impression that civilization is deteriorating, and that the lives of our most eminent men and women furnish sure proof of degeneration.

At the very outset we feel that the term *degeneration*, on which the morbid psychologists harp, is misleading. Degeneration from what, we ask? A drunken, worthless son of a high-principled father *is* degenerate; but where in the past is to be found any era, or class, or

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considerable body of representative men and women whose general superiority establishes latter-day inferiority? There have been great men in many centuries; there have been movements toward progress so brilliant that the ages in which they occurred are called golden; but if you scrutinize even the brightest you will discover that it harbored the very evils, or worse, on whose existence to-day the charge of degeneration is based. The many-sided beauty of the Periclean age, the high-bred Augustan literature, the mediæval cathedrals, the paintings and sculpture of the Renaissance, the magnificent poetry of the Elizabethans live on; but the real conditions under which they were created are overlooked or forgotten. Races and nations rise and rise, until, at the summit of their career, they produce some masterpiece, like these just mentioned, which remains as their contribution to mankind. The nations themselves decay and perish; new races follow them and climb new heights; and progress is the resultant of all their efforts. It is the residue of beauty and truth and righteousness—the imperishable essence of those things which at all times promote human welfare. But progress does not follow a straight line forward; it moves rather in a spiral or in zigzags.

When we remember that less than forty years ago human slavery existed in the United States we shall hardly accept the doctrine of degeneration; much less, if we look below the surface of any of those epochs which gave birth to the glories of art and literature. The great evils which now confront us—debauchery, poverty, economic inequality, corruption in public office, dishonesty in business, gambling, ignorance, irresponsible propagation of children doomed to disease, pauperism, and crime; sensational journalism. Except the last did these not flourish when Elizabeth was queen, and Borgia pope? Were they not ancient before the golden age of Augustus? And in addition there flourished other abominations which civilized nations have been slowly uprooting: religious intolerance, which lighted fires at a hundred stakes and kept them burning for centuries; bloodthirsty superstitions, like the belief in witchcraft, for which nine million souls were put to death; slavery; atrocious and habitual cruelty, including judicial torture; bestialities the very names of which are unfit to print; blood-feuds; human sacrifices; the servitude of women; the neglect and abuse, through ignorance or insensibility, of little children, cripples, and lunatics; the universal maltreatment of animals. To have abolished many of these abominations, is this degeneration? To feel polluted and shocked that any of them should be, does this

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prove that our time is worse than those times past which practised such evils without horror and without shame?

If this be meant by degeneration, then in spite of the ultra-scientific pose of its expounders, it has no more basis in history than the theological assertion of the fall of man—which has only recently been exploded—had in either history or anthropology. But Prof. Lombroso and his followers are too wary to uphold so patent a fallacy as historic degeneration. They know that whether they took the careers of 500 notables for each century as far back as records exist, or of the mass of the population at any given era, the symptoms of what they call degeneration would not diminish, but increase. Accordingly, they pursue an eclectic method, which lends greater plausibility to their arguments. They go through the lists of men of genius in search of evidence of degeneration; arguing that, if these men can be convicted, the public which they represent must also be guilty. In their diagnosis every trait by which an individual differs from the masses, particularly if it be some faculty which lifts him even a span above the common level, is a sign of abnormality. To be abnormal is to be degenerate. Therefore, every variation from the Normal Man must be condemned. That is their gospel.

But who is this Normal Man, in whose august presence even genius loses his majesty?

So far as I know, none of the morbid psychologists has ventured to draw the portrait of his wonderful creation; and yet we can get a glimpse of him by collecting the hints which they have scattered through their works, and particularly by reversing their descriptions of abnormal men. As in photography, we must rely on negatives for a likeness.

The Normal Man is 5 feet and 6.173958 inches tall, and weighs 148 pounds, 7 ounces, and 3 grains. His pulse never exceeds 68 beats, nor his respiration 16 breaths, per minute. He requires 300 cubic feet of fresh air per hour. He chooses his food by weight, taking care that the proportion of proteids, fats, and carbohydrates shall not vary by a milligram. Watch him at his meal: how conscientiously he masticates, how regularly he sips his tumbler of water! You might imagine that you were witnessing a religious rite. A clock measures his stint of sleep, a pedometer his walking.

Every three hours he examines whether he has generated the requisite number of foot-pounds of energy. He has no appetites, emotions, nor passions, because they presuppose a nervous system; and

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that too easily degenerates into a neurotic system for the Normal Man to possess it. He suffers from no hereditary taint; nor does he transmit any, for he has no progeny. To have progeny would expose him to erotic risks.

His features are so regular that they might have been drawn by a pair of compasses. Both sides of his face, both hemispheres of his skull, correspond. No suspicion of criminality lurks in the lobes of his ears. His thumbs are commonplace and innocent. The slant of his forehead, the curve of his chin, the bulge of his occiput are faultlessly according to rule. He has no special tastes: music, painting, poetry, even the daily newspaper move him not. He cannot nurture any special aptitude, because an aptitude would at once degrade him to the ranks of the abnormal. In the plural he becomes, *Per Capita*, indispensable to the statistician, the economist, and the coroner. (How shall we resent an unjust tax, which costs *Per Capita* only a dollar or two? Or why should diphtheria terrify, when only 7 per cent *Per Capita* succumb to it?) A similar abstraction—with no more flesh-and-blood reality than a yard-stick—is the Normal Man. You would say that not God, nor nature, nor even one of nature's journeymen, but a stencil, had made him. Like the geometrical point, absolute zero, and minus quantities, the Normal Man is a convenience for reckoning, and no more.

This is the abstraction which morbid psychologists have set up by which to judge genius. They take the lists printed above and hunt the medical records of each individual. They find that Darwin, for instance, suffered from chronic nausea. "Oh ho!" they exclaim, "the Normal Man never has that; *ergo*, Darwin is abnormal, that is, degenerate." They hold up Carlyle's dyspepsia, Herbert Spencer's nervous collapses, Harriet Martineau's invalidism, Pius IX's epilepsy, Keats's consumption, and so on, to establish their charge of degeneration. Listening to them you might be misled into supposing that Darwin was Darwin because of his nausea, that dyspepsia made Carlyle a genius, that melancholia was the source of Lincoln's greatness.

How they have inverted truth! These men, and all other great men since the beginning of time, were great not because of disease, but in spite of it. They were dyspeptic, or consumptive, or melancholic, not as a consequence of their genius, but as a consequence of their mortality. Being human, they could not escape imperfection and suffering; but, being eminent, they wrought in spite of their imperfection to lift or delight or guide mankind. Science may well in-

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vestigate how far physical ills hindered, or tinged, their work, or cut short their lives ; but it is a false science which thus brands them as degenerate. We seek facts and results, not theories ; and when we find a Gladstone or a Bismarck bearing beyond 80 years his Atlas-burden, when we see Leo XIII at 90 still the active head of the Roman Church, when we remember what monuments in history and philosophy Parkman and Spencer have raised against incredible odds, when we review one by one the careers of the men and women enumerated above, and then set over against them that dim abstraction, the Normal Man, we shall no longer be persuaded that genius is but another name for degeneration and disease.

Throughout the whole scale of organic life, from microbe to earliest geologic man, and from him to Shakespeare, the creative Will has been striving after variation. Nature scorns repetition, she scorns monotony. She has never yet made the Normal Man, and I believe that she never will ; but she is perpetually throwing out human beings who by their gifts and achievements hint at perfection. These beings we enroll in the muster of genius.

May we not conclude, then, that the test of longevity, when applied to the eminent persons of the age, demonstrates that as a body they are the reverse of degenerate? Science for science, is it really more scientific to insist that a man who prefers red curtains, or bites his finger-nails, or has misshapen ears must be far on the road to madness or crime, than to judge him by his capacity for work and its product, and by his grip on life? Are thumb-prints on Bertillon's blotter more infallible signs than mind-prints on the history of the age?

If I seem to hold a brief for the present, let me say that I am not comparing even our best men to-day with ideal men that have never existed ; I am comparing them with the multitude and with men of similar rank in times past. Imperfections they have of all kinds, because they are human ; but there is no single imperfection discoverable in any of them which has not appeared over and over again in their predecessors. Consequently, the charge that degeneration is the distinguishing attribute of the leaders of our century lacks support. I repeat, I am not comparing the present with the ideal ; I am comparing the present with the past, having regard for historic truth, and penetrating as far as I may the glamour in which time wraps the past.

One must have sluggish ideals, indeed, if the best that has been attained does not seem to him almost intolerably mean as compared

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with the best that might be. But we shall certainly never advance far toward Utopia, unless we see the conditions we live among as they really are. To impute to our time blame which it does not deserve may do more harm than to exaggerate its virtues. Certainly, the road to the goal of most of our social ideals will never be found by turning backward. History shakes her head and smiles sadly at those enthusiasts who imagine that men attained to perfection and happiness in some remote period of the past. We distrust a social reformer who sets up the "beautiful collectivism" of thirteenth-century life in Germany as a state far above our present level; and when the Pope prays that mankind may return to the conditions from which the Franciscan and Dominican Orders sprang, we suspect that he has overlooked the characteristic facts of that period. We see the limitations in such deductions concerning other epochs as masters like Carlyle and Ruskin have drawn from works of art and individual heroes.

After all, if we cannot appraise exactly the good and evil of our own community, how can we do so of time past, from which only fragmentary data, at the most, survive? Can you balance, as in a ledger, vices against virtues? Can you say that so many churches *per capita* neutralize so many acres of slums, that one Sunday-school offsets five brothels or ten rumshops, that a fine museum compensates for a corrupt city government, or that a great public library is more than equivalent to general commercial sharp practice? Does your own presence in the community counterpoise the presence of a given number of criminals? We shall not prosper in our accounts if we try this kind of computation. Neither is it possible to strike an exact balance when we deal with times past, to assert, for instance, that the masterpieces of Michael Angelo and Raphael offset the unspeakable iniquities which flourished unchecked at the Papal Court in the early Renaissance. For progress, as I have said, makes no uniform advance, with continuous gains all along the line. It moves in a spiral or in zigzags and often seems not to advance at all.

Accordingly, one epoch achieves great conquests in art, another in knowledge, a third in character; but no single age has excelled in all these simultaneously. As a sick man longs for any other disease than that which afflicts him, so do we instinctively magnify those qualities in times past which we feel the lack of to-day. In an age of doubt, we look back regretfully to the age of faith; when the best wits of our day seem to be squandered on mechanical inventions, we turn with wonder and envy and delight to the eras of art; when a too

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analytic science reduces the world to atoms, and seems powerless to put them together again as a living world, we open the books of the poets, of the masters of imagination, and are reassured by their synthesis. Woe unto us if we should be satisfied with the present!

But this high and earnest discontent must not make us unjust. Quarrel with our century though we may, it behooves us to know that it has been beyond all others the most favorable to the prolonging of human life, and that it has favored most those men and women who have been working on the highest planes. The abuses, the hideous wrongs, the inequalities which shock us at its close were ancient when it began. What is new is the slow awakening of the moral sense to the realization that many evils which our ancestors beheld or practised without horror are abominations that can and must be cast out. When all the material achievements of the century have been forgotten, this fact, perhaps, will cause them to be remembered. The faith which long ago became visible in Europe's cathedrals has vanished; but no one can linger in the minsters of Canterbury or Siena or Seville without feeling somewhat of the glory and awe, of the beauty and strength, which that faith once represented to men. Nevertheless, I had rather hail from the age that builds hospitals and colleges than from the age that built cathedrals. WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER.

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